DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 048 754 EM 008 813

AUTHOR	Meyer, Anthony J.
TITLE	Black Voices and Format Regulations: A Study in Black-Oriented Radio.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Univ., Calif. ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Media and Technology.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 71
CONTRACT	OEC-1-7-070-073-4581
NOTE	31p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Audiences, *Black Community, *Broadcast Industry, Business Responsibility, Community Benefits, Community Education, *Community Influence, Information Needs, Legal Responsibility, Mass Media, Power Structure, *Radio, Social Responsibility

ABSTRACT

Based on a study of black-oriented broadcasting conducted in 1970, the purpose of this report is to discern and elucidate, rather than measure conclusively, the dynamics of its "success," emphasizing the potential of such stations to have a positive social impact on their communities. Fourteen black-oriented stations were visited, 30 license applications for such stations reviewed, and 150 interviews conducted in eight major cities with community leaders, station personnel, and broadcasting experts. Given that the purpose of FCC (Federal Communication Commission) control of permission to broadcast is to see that the public's convenience, interest, and necessity are served, and if black-oriented radio has the "audience power" that can be established for it by using a number of indicators, then it is the author's contention that black-oriented radio has failed to serve the public interest--a conclusion based on analyses of the "rhythm and blues" format as well as the specific programming employed by virtually all of these stations and on the apparent fact that their ownership and profit patterns are oriented to maximal profit. Two major scenarios for change are offered: community organization control of "non-profit" broadcasting facilities and/or forceful containment of the maximal profit motive in present ownership. (MT)

ED048754

BLACK VOICES AND FORMAT REGULATIONS:

A STUDY IN BLACK-ORIENTED RADIO

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Institute for Communication Research
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Issued by the ERIC Clearinghouse
on Media and Technology
Stanford, California 94305

In May 1971

EM008813

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

This study was conducted with the help of research grants, including one from the New York Province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) through Woodstock Jesuit Theological Seminary (New York City). Now this report belongs to the people.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Black Voices and Format Regulations joins other broadcasting studies which the ERIC Clearinghouse on Media and Technology has had a hand in disseminating. For example, there was *One Week of Educational Television 1968* and a later European version of the same by Michael Schmidbauer.

In this paper Fr. Anthony Meyer sees a role for commercial radio as an information medium involved in the self-realization and educational process of a major minority community. Because the paper advocates broad and continuing community-wide information exchange and education through a presently existing mass medium, it fits well within this clearinghouse's official scope.

D.C.

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INTRODUCTION

"Black Voices and Format Regulations" is based on a study of black-oriented broadcasting conducted during the spring and summer of 1970. Fourteen black-oriented stations were visited and over 150 interviews were conducted in eight major cities throughout the country. Over 30 black-oriented license applications were reviewed at the FCC offices in Washington. Appendix I of this report lists the 14 stations visited and the community leaders, station personnel and broadcasting experts interviewed.

This study was undertaken in the manner of a pilot project upon which further research in the area of black-oriented broadcasting might be based. Its primary purpose was to discern and elucidate, rather than measure conclusively, the dynamics of the "success" of black-oriented radio, with an emphasis on the potential of black-oriented stations to have a positive social impact on their communities.

A brief excerpt from a later section of this report will give an indication of the content, structure and conclusions of the report:

Black-oriented radio, it must be repeated here . . . is not necessarily more or less ethical or of more or less value to its listening community than other types of general market stations. Others may judge it to be more or less so. The logic of this report does assert, however,

1) that the power of black-oriented radio in terms of its audience is one of the most striking phenomena in contemporary broadcasting,

2) that the power of black-oriented radio in terms of profit, organization and ownership is significant,

3) that the pledge of black-oriented radio ownership to the public through the FCC has been to serve its black listening audience according to its (the audience's) convenience, interest and necessity irrespective of what other broadcasting may or may not do, and

4) that black-oriented radio has failed to serve the public interest both incidentally and systematically.

I. THE POWER OF BLACK-ORIENTED RADIO

Audience power

Presently, 180 radio stations throughout the United States devote 10 hours or more of broadcast time per week to a black listening audience; of these, 65 orient their total programming toward a black audience.[1*] In the top fifty metropolitan areas these black-oriented stations have the power to reach over 17,500,000 blacks, or 78% of the total United States black population, with their primary coverage.[2] In 1963 a study published by the Center for Research in Marketing concluded from a national sample that 90% of this potential black audience listened occasionally or regularly to black-oriented radio; 59% listened to black-oriented radio more than to general radio.[3] 1970 sources, particularly Pulse ratings, indicate a similar listening audience at the present time.[4] Moreover, C. E. Hooper Inc. in 1969 released figures showing that the commercial recall among black-oriented radio listeners at any time of day was 18.1%, the highest recall for any type of radio and only slightly lower than the percent of recall (19.4%) reported for television during prime time among a general audience sample.[5]

The epic-hero style of story about black-oriented radio, recounted from time to time during the 1960's in sources such as *Broadcasting,* reflects this statistical indication of intense black audience responsivity to black-oriented radio. To cite two examples from many, Safeway ran a schedule of 14 spot announcements on KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco) offering employment opportunity. One thousand applicants responded on the first day, 2,500 on the second. Busch's Jewelry Store began a 16-week promotion on WLIB (New York City) to build traffic in their black area stores. The promotion required listeners to register in person at any of the stores in order to be eligible for prizes. In the first week more than 2,400 registered.[6]

As noted in the introduction, during the late spring and summer of 1970 14 black-oriented radio stations were visited and over 150 interviews were conducted with station personnel broadcasting specialists and community leadership in preparation for writing this report.[7] The epic stories were invariably present in every city, the 1970 versions dealing particularly with riot control. In Cleveland, for example, city hall representatives, local broadcasting experts and station personnel at both Cleveland black-oriented stations WABQ and WJMO felt that these stations had been singularly responsible for cooling incipient riot situations on two major occasions.[8] And the Sonderling Broadcast group, a major black-oriented "chain," based on their past experience at the death of Martin Luther King, had prepared a special tape of black personalities in case of summer riot.

If the above evidence truly reflects the power of black-oriented radio, it can be conservatively estimated that the majority of black people in this country listen to black-oriented radio and are open to influence from it. Since it is the only nationwide black-oriented mass medium operating on a daily basis, and since many black people regard television as a white man's medium, black-oriented radio may well be the single most powerful mass medium for reaching the black population of this country.

Considering this "audience power" and the present state of social transformation of that audience, black-oriented radio represents a unique challenge to American broadcasting, a test symbolic of radio's capacity to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity.[9] In the thirty black-oriented license renewal applications studied in preparation for this report, all ownership representatives pledged to serve their black audience constituency in a particularly suitable manner. Their power to do so is a measure of their responsibility; their performance in accordance with their pledge is a measure of their credibility.

Profit Power; Chain Power; Ownership Power

Black-oriented radio is profitable—not universally, but almost always. Management at several stations visited for this report claimed $400,000 to $600,000 in gross annual income for their stations, indicating a profit, after operating expenses, cost of capital and taxes, of from $70,000 to $120,000 annually. Some major stations operate well above this mark. WVON (Chicago) was being sold this past summer for nine million dollars!

"Profit power" can lead to realistic expectations on the part of the black people from whom the profit is made and to whom protestations of special service have been offered:

1) A public accounting of profit,

2) Maximization of broadcast service and experimentation, and

3) Reinvestment of profit in the black community.

Many black-oriented radio stations are owned in broadcast groups or "chains" whereby one ownership interest operates several stations in different cities. For example, seven such ownership interests control, at last count, 26 of the 65 totally black-oriented radio stations scattered across the country: James Brown Broadcasting (the only black-owned chain), Rollins Inc., Rounsaville Radio Stations, Sonderling Broadcasting Corp., Speidel Broadcasters Inc., Starr Broadcasting Group Inc., and United Broadcasting Co.[10]

In terms of power, chain ownership represents a distinct potential:

1) Concentration in a few hands of the power to reach a large number of this country's black population immediately and effectively,

2) An opportunity for inter-station cooperation for

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* All notes are at the back of this report, as Appendix Two.

profit and the public interest, and

3) An opportunity for experimentation and improvement in broadcasting service. For example, with a solid margin of profit accruing from four stations, an ownership interest can with less risk experiment with one of the four stations in order to improve service.

With few exceptions, the fourteen black-oriented stations visited in preparation for this report were owned by interests with extensive economic power. For example, officers and major stockholders in Sonderling Broadcasting, according to the 1969 WWRL (New York City) license renewal application, are involved as major officers and/or stockholders in a variety of business ventures. One individual, by no means atypical of black-oriented radio ownership (or for that matter of broadcasting ownership in general), maintains the following business relationships:

–Oak Park Arms Hotel, Inc., Chicago; principal stockholder, president and director.
–South Shore View Building, Chicago; principal stockholder, president and director.
–Bankers Building Corp., Chicago; principal stockholder, president and director.
–R G Enterprises (restaurant chain), Chicago; director.
–Bankers Finance Corp., Dallas; principal stockholder, president and director.
–GSC Enterprises (investment holding company), New York; president and director.
–Stineway Drug Co., Chicago; director.
–Ford Hopkins Co. (drug store chain), Chicago; director.
–185 N. Wabash Building (office building), Chicago; principal stockholder, president and director.
–Allerton Hotel, Chicago; president, director, and stockholder.
–Windermere Hotel, Chicago; president, director and stockholder.
–FARMCO (farming), Tranquility, California; partner.

Since every ownership interest in black-oriented radio has expressed particular concern in the welfare of its black audience, black people might well expect the following actions from owners with significant economic power:

1) Not merely excellence in broadcasting and broadcast facility employment practice, but

2) fair employment practice and extensive job training, perhaps sponsored by the owner's radio station, in the other business operations of the owner in whatever city they are located, and

3) the use of ownership power as an economic force to forward the civil rights and economic progress of the black audience.

Some awareness of the power behind black-oriented radio–its "audience power," "profit power," "chain power," and "ownership power"–adds perspective when considering the "sound as it is" of black-oriented radio, the subject matter of the following two sections of this report.

II. THE SOUND AS IT IS

The Rhythm and Blues Format

Old-time radio scheduled a variety of programs in clearly delineated time segments. To survive television, contemporary radio is largely "format radio." Each station broadcasts a specialized sound style, for example, rock, country-Western, middle-of-the-road, jazz, all-news, underground, etc. Generally the sound of advertising, announcers, news, public service announcements (PSAs) and special mini-programming on each format station conforms as much as possible to its dominant format sound. "Extra" sounds are undesirable. The listener must know from the first moment of tuning in exactly what he can expect to hear on the station at almost any hour of the clock.

Format radio piles high the number of continual listeners from one audience category and reaps the benefit of specialized advertising while catering to a specific taste. Too frequently broader community needs and interests, which the broadcaster is obliged by license to serve, are neglected in the process–even by the total spectrum of an area's radio broadcasting. Too frequently "community service" programming of any substantial nature is relegated to fringe weekend, early morning and night write-off hours; news is tucked away in brief headline "rip (off the UPI wire)-and-read" segments; public service announcements become simple extensions of format sound and station promotion.

But, successful or otherwise, a format radio station and the worth of that station in terms of its service to the public ought to be judged 1) by the "sound as it is" of the station, not the rhetoric of its own self-appraisal or promotion, and 2) by the "sound as it is" most indicative of its format sound, not 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Sunday, but 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., Monday through Friday, and more particularly, 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. to 6 p.m., the height of the commercially choice radio "drive time."

Black-oriented radio is format radio not because it is oriented to black audiences; it is format radio because with few exceptions throughout the United States[11] it operates with one sound, the "rhythm and blues" format sound which many have labelled the black-oriented equivalent of the "top forty" or teen-age "bubble-gum" format sound. (Rhythm and blues song titles are presented in the later section of this report, "The Hit List.")

In the license renewal applications filed every three years with the FCC, black-oriented stations almost invariably signal the rhythm and blues format in answer to the questions concerning the past and proposed programming percentages.[12] To cite some examples, KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco) in 1968 proposed the following for its subsequent three years of programming: 64% rhythm and blues, 9% Gospel and religious.

WWRL (New York City) in 1969 proposed:

Rhythm and blues	58.0%
Commercial	20.0%
News	6.5%
Religious programming	8.5%
Gospel	1.5%
Public Affairs	5.3%
Sports	.2%

WABQ (Cleveland) in 1970 proposed simply: 75% rhythm and blues, soul format. WYLD (New Orleans) in 1970 proposed:

Rhythm and blues	55%
Gospel music	25%
Folk music	2%
Religious music	10%
Talk	3%
News	5%

WVON (Chicago) in 1970 proposed: rhythm and blues and pop 85%, Gospel 12%, Religious 3%.

Concretely, the universal sound of black-oriented radio across the United States can be characterized as approximately 75% rhythm and blues hit records and commercials with deejay continuity. This 75%, moreover, represents a conservative 85% of each station's prime radio time.

A print representation of one hour of black-oriented radio sound selected at random from the monitoring log compiled in preparation for this report will perhaps be helpful at this point. While some stations handle the rhythm and blues format sound more professionally than others, with variations on the arrangement and emphasis of certain sounds within a given hour–for example, when to play "two in a row" or how often to announce the time and temperature or play the station jingle–this hour is a good indication of the rhythm and blues format sound:

June 16, 1970: 11:40 a.m. to 12:40 p.m., WYLD (New Orleans).

Note: Use of italics indicates an advertisement; brackets indicate sound overlap; "jock line" indicates anything from a quick shout to a several phrase deejay comment, frequently identifying a record; time, temperature, weather and station i.d. notations indicate specific content announcements by the deejay; other notations should be self-explanatory; the marginal time indicators are approximate, not exact.

A.M. 11:40 *Rosenberg's,* station jingle (jock line), RECORD (jock line), station jingle, jock line, time, RECORD,

11:45 jock line, time, station jingle, plug for another jock, RECORD, time,

11:50 station jingle, jock line, RECORD, weather, station i.d., *Canada Dry,* jock line, *James Brown Show,* jock line, *Air Conditioners,* station jingle, jock line,

11:55 RECORD, jock line, jock i.d., *Tang,* station jingle, *United TV Rental,* station jingle, temperature, time, jock line (music background),

P.M. 12:00 Black History vignette,
News: date, local arrest for drugs, test vote on aid to private schools, safe driving PSA,
News: black liberation Sunday, actuality about black liberation Sunday, Newark election news, weather, date, sign off,
Mini-program giving tips on shoe wear

12:05 and shoe style, station jingle, *Schlitz,* station jingle, *Rite Tailors,* plug for next jock,

12:10 jock line, RECORD, jock line, weather, station i.d., *Black Flag,* station jingle, jock line, RECORD,

12:15 jock line, station jingle, temperature, RECORD, station jingle, jock line, station i.d., temperature, RECORD,

12:20 dead spot, *Home Finance, Parkchester Apartments,* station jingle, *United TV Rental,* station jingle, temperature, station i.d., jock line,

12:25 RECORD (jock line, station i.d.), plug for a WYLD program, station jingle, *Milk,* station jingle, jock line (music background), plug for WYLD programs,

12:30 station i.d.,
News: desegregation of Jackson, actuality on money for cities,
jock line, *James Brown Show, Jack Rose,* station jingle, *Shoe Store,* station jingle,

12:35 RECORD (jock line, time, temperature), cancer-smoking PSA, station jingle, *Dixie Beer,* station jingle,

The rhythm and blues format sound has been earnestly defended by broadcast industry representatives. They claim that it is a sound desired by the black listening audience and that its tight professionality offers an image of pride and achievement at a time when it is sorely needed. Jerry Boulding, the national program director of Sonderling Broadcasting, expressed satisfaction with the clean, tight Sonderling format sound. Speaking particularly about WWRL (New York City), he commented: "Everyone can listen to it and never be ashamed of it. There is nothing Tom or Amos-'n' Andy about it. They can listen with pride . . . can turn it up in front of their white friends . . . What we do, we do well."

On the other hand, many, even within black-oriented radio, express dissatisfaction with the rhythm and blues format. One deejay stated, "Soul radio is one of the most exploitative forces that the black community has ever been confronted with. It is totally representative of forces exploiting the black. It ranks perhaps the biggest because it perpetuates images that we are not." Whether good or bad, exploitative or not, the rhythm and blues format sound does take on the appearance of a monopoly of access to the black population of this country in its most effective daily mass medium. As such, it deserves a highly critical analysis.

The prime time rhythm and blues format is composed of four major sounds: 1) continual playing of records from the rhythm and blues hit play list, 2) fourteen to eighteen minutes of commercials per hour along with station jingles and promotion, all styled as much as possible to complement the rhythm and blues hit list sound, 3) deejay continuity, and 4) those sounds most difficult to work into the rhythm and blues format: news, public service announcements and education mini-programs, styled and diffused throughout the format hour so as to become supportive for the dominant format sound.

While black-oriented radio is not necessarily more complicated or less, or more ethical or less, in its format approach when compared with general market radio, in the discussion that follows it will be judged in the light of its own formal pledges and unique power.

The Hit List

Every week the station music director and/or deejays revise the station rhythm and blues hit list. The revision is a carefully *arranged ritual involving calls to record stores, consultation of* deejay opinion and numerous mailings and/or visits from record promotion people culminating frequently in a published station "top forty" list. The records in question are the 45 rpm single pop releases most popular among teen audiences. For example, the top 12 of 42 in one hit list, "WBOK'S SOULFUL 12 PLUS 30," published on June 5, 1970 by WBOK (New Orleans) is indicative of the record sound–even to the particular records–heard all across the country during the week of June 5:

1. SWEET FEELING (FLAME)	Candi Staton
2. SUGAR, SUGAR (ATLANTIC)	Wilson Pickett
3. FURTHER ON DOWN (SOUND STAGE 7)	Joe Simon
4. LOST WITHOUT YOUR LOVE (KLONDIKE)	Bobby Mclure
5. WHAT'S WRONG, BABY (Flip) (VOLT)	Margie Joseph
6. BROTHER RAPP (KING)	James Brown
7. BLACK FOX (W.P.J.)	Freddy Robinson
8. THE LOVE YOU SAVE (MOTOWN)	Jackson 5
9. BABY I LOVE YOU (CHECKER)	Little Milton
10. YOU NEED LOVE (SOUL)	Gladys Knight
11. DANGLING ON A STRING (INVICTUS)	Chairmen of the Board
12. A B C (MOTOWN)	Jackson 5[13]

Hit list artists are always black, although certain black artists–for example, Sammy Davis Jr., Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne, Odetta and Marian Anderson–never make the list. In fact, the hit list systematically excludes major segments of black-originated entertainment–Gospel, jazz, adult underground music, poetry, drama and humor–from prime, and in some instances any, radio time. While the rhythm and blues hit play list does represent tremendous talent and at times serious social comment–even at times the introspection, outrage and laughter of a people in touch with themselves and their history–by no stretch of imagination can its constant playing be said to represent black culture, much less a format

sound which constitutes an adequate response to the needs, tastes and interests of the black population of this country. Rather, it is more representative of an illegal contract binding black radio listeners to a questionably sophisticated equivalent of the Step-'n'Fetchit, Amos-'n'Andy stereotypes of earlier decades.

The Commercials

Station personnel expressed optimism concerning commercials when questioned in preparation for this report. Older salesmen recounted memories of "peddling one dollar hot combs and skin bleaches, with the usual credit houses existing on the bilking of illiterates . . . and the old bait and switch trick: offering 'em a great price and when they get there, switch 'em to a higher price." This has greatly changed. Frequently as much as 40% of a station's gross income dollar comes from national advertising with its polished Madison Avenue production sound, while local copy and production are watched carefully by station personnel.

There is even room for a certain idealism. Marvin Seller, head of the WWRL (New York City) sales department, described his own ideal of a commercial as that which "informs, brings the listener together with a product or service –a useful and good product."

Uneasy testimony, however, still comes in, particularly with regard to furniture sales and T.V. rentals:

"Last year we ran a few bad jewelry and furniture and appliance spots. Furniture would fall apart before you got home. Mainly furniture and appliances–especially console radio and record players. One common thing was a cabinet which was actually a wood framework and paneling with a foreign radio and turntable which were cheap and selling for a couple of times its value–and offering easy credit with little checking."

"I resent exploitation when I see it. On one furniture thing, we advertise junk furniture. Black people will buy it, it'll fall apart and they'll still be paying."

"T.V. rentals should be taken off. They zero in on welfare mothers. They should be dealt with."

The complainants about television rentals disapprove of 1) high weekly rental for television sets with no eventual ownership and 2) advertising copy which makes a deliberate pitch to people without money, even explicitly to those on welfare. Defenders of the practice say that such rentals represent the only way some people would have access to a television set–an item which in time of stress, they believe, is good to have.

Some critics are more generally harsh about advertising on black-oriented radio. Dr. Ralph Jennings of the Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ claims that many commercials "play on the fears, inhibitions and desires of black America–their desire to get rich quick and their concern for health. They pander to ignorance and offer solutions that are not real solutions, but encourage listeners to waste money and get stuck with loan sharks."

The *quantity* of commercials on black-oriented radio drew constant fire from both station personnel and community leadership during the interviews conducted for this report. Moreover, according to license renewal applications, commercials average from 14 to 18 minutes per hour in prime time (following the National Association of Broadcasters suggested maximum), with a few stations pushing as high as 20 to 22 minutes per hour at commercially harried times of the year–or whenever they could get them. Station management maintains that black-oriented stations do not receive advertising rates comparable to general market stations and are forced to aim for quantity. Whatever the cause, it is a dubious service to the black community to broadcast the following type of sound sequence for approximately 25% of prime broadcast time as the second major ingredient in the rhythm and blues format:

Note: This hour of commercials, broadcast on May 8, 1969 from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. on WVON (Chicago) is copied from the composite week filed by WVON with the FCC at the time of their recent application for transfer of ownership.[14] The news listings are included for contrast and future reference; the weather, following allowable FCC practice, is listed in the log under the "news" category.

10:00-10:03 a.m.	News local and national	3 min.
10:03-10:30 a.m.	Jello Pudding	60 sec.
	Stotland Clothing	60 sec.
	Death of a Gunfighter	30 sec.
	Butternut Bread	60 sec.
	Posner products	60 sec.
	Weather	30 sec.
	Comm. Center Ins.	30 sec.
	Sears Refrigerators	60 sec.
	Betty Everette Album	60 sec.
	The Tire Shop	30 sec.
	Johnson's Raid	60 sec.
10:30-10:31 a.m.	News headlines	60 sec.
10:31-11:00 a.m.	Lord of Chesterfield	30 sec.
	Ultra Sheen Cream	60 sec.
	Eagle Ins.	60 sec.
	Up Tight movie	30 sec.
	Norforms	60 sec.
	Sportsman's Park	60 sec.
	Weather	30 sec.
	Stotland Furniture	60 sec.
	Nadinola	60 sec.

Deejay Continuity

The full-time rhythm and blues disc jockey usually spends four hours on the air and two hours in production. He is also urged to make public relations appearances. While some few "unprofessional" disc jockeys remain, riding high on ego and sounding like the super-Negro jock of a decade ago, today's deejay is frequently from a college or armed service background. He takes his job seriously–his broadcast image, his style of arranging records and his involvement with the community. Although salaries more generally approach a living wage, thanks to recent struggles toward unionization, most deejays undertake extra production work, club appearances and other business ventures ranging from creative writing to

telephone answering services.

The following quotations from deejays around the country give some limited impression of their work.

"I try to relate. All I say they can understand. I'm one of the family. If I'm mad, I show it so they can feel the reality that comes from my show."

"I try to sound as happy as possible. The thing is to entertain. I sometimes talk too much and destroy the meaning of a record. If I really feel it, this is OK, and I believe more important than the music. Maybe we're hooked together, electrified."

"I have the early morning happy wake-up show. I enjoy it—to give people something to be happy about. Most don't want to get up. I add several quotes, ad-libs to set the public going and give them something to talk about. I put myself into it. I visualize people getting up in the morning and preparing themselves for work; women preparing to look good, taking rollers out of their hair. So I begin up-tempo records."

"Some mornings I begin with the first eight hot records. Other times I start slow and work on up. If you back-to-back a record, you have to keep the transition in mind—it's hard to go from slow to fast. I try to gear records to build a groove."

"During the first hour I establish momentum, hot as possible, and arrange the commercials so it doesn't sound like a lot of hoke. Sounds like more music than it is. You put records back-to-back and brainwash them with the 'more music' jingle."

Many deejays expressed discontent with the ever-increasing tightness of format. Several stations have cardboard format "clocks," showing the typical format hour, posted in the on-air studio. Some few "clocks" are exceedingly tight, with appointed time slots for weather, jingles, news, "double plays," hits one to ten, and so forth. Management seems to be immensely pleased with the general result of this tightened format; it tends to create a *station* personality which does not depend on the vagaries of the human disc jockey—or his demands. One deejay complained, "For a basic format deejay it's hard to project any image when limited with time, jingles, commercials and tight schedules. I try to stay away from too many slang terms and remember something interesting." Another probed more deeply: "The format is a personality. Instead of jocks, the personality will be the creation of a Big Brother personality, a Big Brother structure . . . This is bad because dehumanization is bad in any form. That's destructive. No one has the right to dehumanize anyone."

Ernie Chambers, a barber in Omaha, who at last meeting was a candidate for the Nebraska State Senate, had this to say when interviewed about black-oriented radio:

"I think it's a grave mistake for a supposedly black radio station to be the shadow image of the commercial white stations which irritate and nauseate their listeners with the nonsense that they come on with, the mere playing of records, the shouting of scared news headlines. . . . In short, I'd say that a black station should not become identified with shallow sensationalism. The real test of its validity is the ability of those operating it to have something for every segment and element within the black community. There are points where various groups or individuals within the community may vary or disagree, but such disagreement no more causes them to cease being part of the community than a stomach which disagrees with its owner ceases to be a part of the body."

III. IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND NECESSITY

FCC License Renewal Application: Section IV, Part I

"The sound as it is" of black-oriented radio, as is true of general market radio, includes more than its primary format sound. News, public service announcements and educational mini-programs infiltrate the format sound itself, and other program types–public affairs, Gospel and religious–are assigned special blocks of time. Stations frequently broaden their scope of community involvement beyond air time by sponsoring specific community-oriented activities, for example, an anti-drug campaign, a scholarship fund, an anti-car theft campaign or a summer camp program, and station personnel engage in a round of lectures and appearances.

Unfortunately, the above items combined, after tabulation of rhythm and blues and commercial time, with few exceptions account for no more than 25% of actual broadcast hours, and a conservative 85% of that 25% is broadcast during radio fringe time, the least profitable listening hours. Yet all of the above programming and activity tends to show up in one way or another in response to Section IV, Part I of each station's triannual license renewal application to the FCC, the section that questions the broadcaster about his station's broadcasting response to community needs and interests.

Each broadcaster, upon filing a token fee with the FCC, requests the people's permission to use an air frequency in their (the people's) interest and necessity. If the government, through the FCC, grants the broadcaster's application, most often a perfunctory ritual, the broadcaster may then use the air frequency free of charge in order to serve the public and, secondarily, to make–or lose–money. Since the use of an air frequency represents a public trust, application for this trust must be made every three years by its holder if he wishes to continue broadcasting on the frequency, and, in fact, by anyone else who thinks he can do a better job.[15] At this license renewal time, the government must evaluate the broadcaster's use of the public trust. This is done through applicant's license renewal form, copies of which are available free of charge from the FCC. Three major questions in the license renewal form, those which concern the ascertainment and fulfillment of community program needs, the Section IV, Part I of the license renewal form, read as follows:

A. State in Exhibit No.____ the methods used by the applicant to ascertain the needs and interests of the public served by the station. Such information shall include 1) identification of representative groups, interests and organizations which were consulted and 2) the major communities or areas which applicant principally undertakes to serve.

B. Describe in Exhibit No.____ the significant needs and interests of the public which the applicant believes his station will serve during the coming license period, including those with respect to national and international matters.

C. List in Exhibit No.____ typical and illustrative programs or program series (excluding Entertainment and News) that applicant plans to broadcast during the coming license period to meet those needs and interests.

Responses to Section IV, Part I vary widely among general market broadcast applicants as well as among black-oriented broadcast applicants, although if any difference is to be noted, black-oriented broadcast applicants are more self-conscious about their responsiveness to community needs. Among the thirty black-oriented radio license renewal forms reviewed for this report, some few stations tended toward a "professional" answer to the ascertainment questions, in one case spending money for an independently run audience questionnaire and in several instances compiling a systematic record of a number of community leadership opinions; some few applicants tended toward gross negligence; most–and all had been or would likely be approved by the FCC–shared the following characteristics in their proposals:

1) Length–The exhibits in response to Section IV, Part I account for the greater bulk of a license renewal application. The exhibits filed for WWRL (New York City) in 1969, for example, ran for fifty-six pages. All responses, although usually not that massive, include a lengthy display of lists: lists of community leaders contacted, lists of important persons heard over the station, lists of the community needs and the many programs and mini-programs scheduled by the station to meet those needs, lists of the organizations served through public service announcements, lists, in fact, of anything categorizable as service, punctuated with a series of Xeroxed letters from Urban Leagues, YMCA's, PAL's and so forth commending the station for its service toward them.

2) Muddle–The three quite distinct questions asked in Section IV, Part I usually result in one, conceptually confused, many-exhibited answer.

3) Basis–Applicants almost always list the following two sources as a primary basis for their judgment concerning public need and interest:

a) scrutiny of mail, telephone calls and other communication with the station, and
b) informal contact between station personnel, particularly executives, and a broad cross-section of community members.

Other infrequently cited bases for judgment include community advisory boards (usually intermittent luncheon gatherings) and some form of "survey," for example, a once-a-year all-day "phone-in" or a formal interrogation of a list of community leaders.

4) Consensus–There is general consensus among broadcasters about the problems of the urban black community throughout the United States. They are the global problems which might be typically associated with a racially suppressed minority: inadequate housing, education and employment. During interviews with station management, many emphasized–in

addition to the problems outlined in the license applications–self-expression, dignity and entertainment as black community needs; some cautiously added police-community relations and lack of black unity, as in fact a few license applications had stated. Significantly, only station personnel and community leadership mentioned racism as a problem. Lu Palmer, a prominent figure in Chicago news reporting, stated: "One of the most serious problems is the black man's unawareness of the manner in which he is manipulated by the whites, and this carries into all fields, education and so forth." This last type of problem was discussed in none of the station license renewal applications.

5) Response–There is unanimity among broadcasters about what programming beyond entertainment constitutes an adequate response to black community needs: news, job-call programs, discussion programs, black history vignettes, editorials, call-in shows, public service announcements, shopping and personal care hints, religious services and so forth–all, after the entertainment and commercial percentages have been conservatively calculated, in under 20% of broadcast time.

6) In general, the stations–unless undergoing transfer of ownership application–tend to consider themselves already adequately responding to whatever needs they ascertain and are able to present well-elaborated explanations for how they have already fulfilled or why they cannot fulfill specific suggestions made to them.

7) Stations and personnel within stations may–or may not–work with responsibility and energy toward increased or adequate community service; however, a station's response to Section IV, Part I is in large measure a creative art form, well or poorly executed by station management and lawyers, which, while meticulously reporting data and facts, cannot be considered a secure measure of the station's actual broadcasting service.

News

Black-oriented radio newsmen were often excellent to the point of being superior to their general market counterparts. Yet newscasting on black-oriented radio remains its most serious failure.

Unfortunately, the trite image of careless rip- (off the UPI wire)-and-read black-oriented newscasting still has a foundation in reality, although in a diminishing proportion of reality. Deejays still, on rare occasions, rush in with fistfuls of undigested UPI wire to cover for missing newsmen. An occasional news department still operates with a retired deejay as news head and a staff of one untrained full-time newsman who hustles report after report while doing three other jobs.[16] And the complaint is still heard from station personnel, "Rip and read, that's all. It gets one angry. They have a scheduled newscast. If they don't have it ready, they just don't do it–or they'll read the last time's. The wire (UPI) is all over the floor. No actualities (taped interviews), or few. No investigative reporting."

There is, however, a new mainstream in black-oriented radio news reporting, and the dialectic between excellence and failure in this mainstream is far more important to the black community than the obvious failure of rip-and-read news. The improvements have come as the result of long perseverance on the part of many newscasters. Richard London, director of WWRL (New York City) news, told how through the years he has built up a system of personal contacts throughout the black community so that "the black community *comes* with stories, and we have a vast core of stringers. The listeners are now reporters . . . We broke more stories than the top four stations combined in a two-month period."

Louis Freeman told of his years of hard work at KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco) so that his department presently has three mobile units, five full-time newsmen, four stringers in the area plus all of the normal facilities. L. J. Lancer of WABQ (Cleveland) news spoke enthusiastically about their breakthrough to a fifteen minute newscast at midday: "Everyone knows they have a load to carry and accepts it without reservation . . . We don't rip and read. We have a chance now to dig into things and tell it on a level understandable to our listeners. So we can be the priest, doctor and the reporter all rolled into one, which gives us a sense of responsibility." One department has carefully structured its procedure of actual newscasting:

1. Lead story of particular interest to the black community.
2. Three local stories.
3. One story about a specific problem in one of the city's black sections.
4. Build toward local-general and regional news.
5. Then National and International (always Vietnam).
6. Each five minute newscast must have one actuality.
7. Ten items in a five minute newscast; six in the headline newscast.
8. Be short, concise, informative.

These are the professional newscasters, dedicated men with serious newscasting equipment.

They are also, however, enlightened Don Quixotes who know exactly the extent of treadmill they are being asked to run. Said one, "We only have five minutes. So we select those stories with wider appeal and those that affect the most people. Of four stories we can only do two." Another complained, "We are rigidly in the system by which we program. Fast. Tight. No dead air. One thing overlapping into the next . . . Punch news. It's not my style . . . but you have to make money."

When all is said and done, the excellences counted and the stations' self-gratulation recorded for the FCC, there remains only six to nine percent of news broadcast over black-oriented

stations, determined in its style by the dominant rhythm and blues format sound. Some news departments have arranged this percent of time in ten minute segments during drive time hours while leaving midday blank; one station has collected a fifteen minute segment at noon; the vast majority diffuse an often expensive energy into punch headline news scattered among rhythm and blues hits.

The unbreakable rule from ownership remains constant: keep the total percent of news low. In this way, the sometimes brilliant performances of black newsmen are played out "with complete freedom" within the carefully controlled limits of format time and maximized profit policy. Thus a major station like WVON (Chicago) "congratulates" itself for its community-involved newshead, Roy Wood, and speaks in its license renewal application about its extensive news facility[17] and about its 70% of local and regional news in distinction to its national and international news, while computing its actual end-product 5.57% of news time from three-minute hourly segments labelled in its composite week log as "news local and national," from weather reports and from hourly minute headline blurbs.[18]

There are implications.

At a time when a large percent of local black community news is going unreported by the general media sources on which black-oriented stations depend (in the form of AP and UPI, as their primary news sources) and at a time when national and international news information and interpretation has never been more essential to the black population, its most powerful daily medium, black-oriented radio, which pledges so much, delivers a hatful of virtuoso performances.

There are implications.

Is profit the reason? Partly. But if $70,000 extra were spent per year on news and $35,000 could be regained in new advertising efforts, the final loss in after-tax profits would be small.

Perhaps some implications will become clear after discussing what many station personnel and community leaders considered the primary defects of black-oriented newscasting: 1) the lack of extensive, in-depth investigative reporting and 2) the total absence throughout the United States of black-oriented news analysis.

1) Bonne Nesbitt, reporter for the *Chicago Daily Defender* at the time of our interview, does a fair share of independent investigative reporting.[19] As she discussed one story at length with me, I understood some possible implications of giving a reporter with Bonne's outlook an opportunity to investigate, report, and interpret news on radio:

The thing that disturbs me most about Chicago in the things I meet everyday as a reporter is the relationship between the police and the black community. It's unbelievable. The police in Chicago perhaps more than in any other city really approach being an army of occupation. By and large the police here really don't give a damn about what goes on in the black community insofar as protecting citizens, following up complaints and tracking criminals.

. . . For example–and I have found this out through actual practice–what they do whenever there's a situation of black killing black, or especially when it's black killing white or a policeman. They go into the particular community. If there's someone who is a troublemaker, a Panther or black leader, they will grab the first one who doesn't have an iron-clad alibi. They'll arrest him and charge him with the crime. They don't make an attempt to find out who really committed the crime.

The cop-killing in Cabrini Green is a complete frame. [At about 7 p.m. on July 17, 1970, two policemen were killed in Cabrini Green public housing project.] They were killed on Friday. By Saturday they had two men in custody and others on the way. The buildings there are tall with a lot of apartments. Several hundred families live in one building. They weren't sure of the direction of the shots; there were conflicting reports. Yet they returned the fire–200 rounds into the North Cleveland building alone. The only warning was a brief helicopter warning. So they fired without knowing where the shots were coming from.

Then the search of all the buildings in the area. No search warrants. They claimed the rule of immediate pursuit. However, in one building, they didn't search all the apartments, but many of them as many as four times. Plus there were incidents of police brutality, where the police kicked down doors, didn't bother to knock. [Bonne added later that the Chicago Housing Authority admitted to 32 doors having been knocked down by the police, all to apartments unoccupied at the time.] They put guns to people's heads during the search, used abusive and obscene language and in general threatened and intimidated people and arrested them without reason.

On Friday night, the police got one fourteen-year-old youth, and the mother didn't know where he was till Wednesday. "He's out on a farm somewhere out of the city," they said. They had her sign something. She didn't know what. Then they told her to bring clothes.

So when they said they arrested two and were looking for two more, I knew it was a frame. They had no bullets. Other snipers were around. They didn't know where the shots were coming from. And 24 hours later they can find out who did it? I knew that couldn't be for real.

Sidney Bennett, Jr. [a major witness] is 17 years old. He was supposedly in Apt. 602 in the 1150 North Sedgwick Building in the company of George C. Knight who is 23 and in the company of Johnny Veal. There he supposedly saw them fire from two rifles the shots which killed the two policemen. Later it was revealed that they had planned this and on two occasions had discussed killing policemen.

Sidney Bennett, Sr. said his son is mentally retarded and that police frightened him into making this confession. It is interesting to note that Veal is also supposedly the head of the Cobra Stone Street Gang. Knight is supposedly an enforcer for the gang. So the usual pattern. Pick up gang members and blame them for it.

Here's where it gets interesting. Because of the way the building is set up, it's almost impossible to find out who's doing what. This made me think of a frame-up–no bullets, no fingerprints on guns. So I called 20 names from each of the three buildings to find out if rights were violated, and so forth. Myself and **** from **** went and talked to some of the community residents and leaders. We were uncovering so many

weird stories that we decided to follow-up, because no one was writing this up. We wanted to do some stories. One of the women we talked with about a brutality complaint–she was bringing her daughter downstairs during the shooting. She saw the second policeman fall to his knees, then fall forward. She tried to run back to the building. She ran hard into the edge of the fence. At that point Knight said to her, "Are you hurt?" *Knight was downstairs at the time of the shooting.*

We uncovered this and another witness to this fact. She will now testify. [At time of publication of this report the case has not yet come to trial.]

The paper *Chicago Daily Defender* would not let me write a story on it unless I got a signed, notarized statement from the woman. But the defense attorney preferred that she didn't give a notarized statement to the paper because then he would be pinned down. They refuse to do any story on any of the brutality stories I've uncovered. They say it's overkill. But only one story even touched brutality, and that in the *Chicago Daily News.* Other stories talked of one man being beaten by two cops. But this was widespread from what we can see.

At the time of publication of this report, Bonne Nesbitt wished to add the following to her account:

If Cabrini Green were a white neighborhood, you know that the police couldn't carry on like that. They didn't even know what building the fire was coming from, or what floor. Not knowing this, they returned fire. There has been no investigation of this. There is a totally different standard of justice for blacks than for whites. Two policemen were killed. This is tragic. But do you victimize an entire neighborhood? The broadcast and print media do not print or investigate much else than the police line.

Censorship is most masterful when achieved before there is any copy to censor. Clearly by its limit of budget and newstime and by its restrictive format and dependency on general news gathering agencies, black-oriented radio feels that it cannot afford to get involved with the black community at the level of investigative reporting about sensitive community issues. Thus it cannot afford to be involved with any community reality deeply enough to occasion that level, and it structures the opportunities out. As a result, black-oriented radio is systematically divorced from the black community in perhaps its centermost crisis: whenever its real and deep-rooted conflict with the dominant culture expresses itself. It can never, therefore, be considered *black* radio.

2) Concerning news analysis, Arthur Chapital, director of the New Orleans chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., commented: "I hear news analysis from Huntley, Brinkley, from Wall St., but no analysis for blacks. I'm very much in favor of it. I don't know why they don't do it. You can turn on NBC or any one of the big networks and you get daily analysis. . . . We can't get a total picture of the black community in the country without such analysis." His opinion was unanimously echoed by the community leadership interviewed for this report.

Lu Palmer of the *Chicago Daily News* tapes a five-minute mini-program for a sponsor which is aired daily on all four Chicago area black-oriented stations and which approaches the traditional concept of news analysis. Lu talks about his show:

I was delighted to have the opportunity to seek to interpret for the black community at least one black man's view of what's going on. My column in the paper is read by a majority of whites, and black people are audio-oriented. I see my show as a real opportunity for a black newsman to communicate with the black people. To my knowledge, there's very little commentary in the country. . . . For the most part, my views are fairly universal among the black community. I try to select my topics from a three-pronged background: 1) Timely news. I seek to interpret what a particular news event means to black people. 2) Issues–education, economic, policy. 3) From an historical perspective. I try to do two or three times a month something on black history. I have one mechanical problem. I can't go on the air the same day. But the important stories are running stories, Panthers, the gang situation. I tape them at WGRT after five. WGRT relays to the other stations. Then I come back and write another broadcast.

As far as I can ascertain, Lu represents the farthest black-oriented radio has moved in the direction of news analysis. Why? One news department head said, "The man is perceptive, and he sees connections." Mark Olds, the station manager of WWRL (New York City) stated succinctly, "News analysis. No room for it."

PSAs, the Mini-Program and Editorials

Adult folk culture, drug companies and the stoic endurance of children insist that the world is a better place for having daily vitamin pills. A similar tacit conspiracy exists among the FCC, broadcast management and the radio audience concerning public service announcements, or PSAs.

In the license renewal application form, PSAs are defined as announcements for which no charge is made and which promote programs, activities or services of federal, state, or local governments or the programs, activities or services of nonprofit organizations and other announcements regarded as serving community interests, excluding time signals, routine weather announcements and promotional announcements.[20]

PSAs are notably shorter than commercials, usually 20 or 30 seconds, and notably fewer, although stations pride themselves on their large number of PSAs. Black-oriented radio is no exception. For example, in answer to the questions directly concerning PSAs on the license renewal application form, questions no. 10 and no. 19, WBEE (Chicago), a daytime-only station, in 1967 noted 294 PSAs in its composite week[21] as typical of its past per-week PSA performance and pledged 125 per week for the subsequent three year period. In 1967 KATZ (St. Louis), a full-time station, noted 870 and pledged 600. In 1968 KSOL (San Francisco), a full-time station, noted 670 and pledged 450.[22]

The following two lists, taken from the composite weeks of WABQ and WVON, give some indication of typical PSA subject matter. The time indicator on the left notes the beginning of the hour during which each announcement took place.

Time	*WABQ (Cleveland, day-time station): Monday, July 7, 1969*	*WVON (Chicago, full-time station) Thursday, May 8, 1969*
12 a.m.		Anti-Cigarette
		Social Security
1 a.m.		Health Tips
		Religion in Life
		Fair Housing
5 a.m.		Anti-Cigarette
6 a.m.	Cancer	Health
	Traffic Safety Council	
7 a.m.	Keep America Beautiful	Fair Housing
	Cancer	
	Booth Maternity Home	
	Women's Army Corps	
	Cancer	
8 a.m.	U.S. Army Nurses	
	Boy Scouts	
	Cent. Vol. Bureau	
9 a.m.	Project Hope	Anti-Cigarette
	Urban League	
	Nursing Center	
	Code	
	Fix-Up	
	U.S. Nurse Enlistment	
11 a.m.		Anti-Cigarette
1 p.m.	Save the Children	Health
		Anti-Cigarette
2 p.m.	V.D.	
	Head Start	
	Food Stamps	
	CORE	
3 p.m.		Fair Housing
4 p.m.	V.D.	Law Serves You
5 p.m.	Project Hope	Social Security
	Cancer	
	Booth Maternity	
	Nursing Center	
	Head Start	
7 p.m.		Anti-Cigarette
8 p.m.		Health
9 p.m.		Law Serves You
11 p.m.		Fair Housing
		Religion in Life

Note: WVON noted two PSAs and WABQ none for Sunday, January 26, 1969; WVON noted six PSAs and WABQ none for Friday, December 13, 1968. Both WABQ and WVON scheduled public affairs mini-programming during their broadcast day; moreover, WABQ schedules a public affairs program from 11 a.m. to 12 p.m. daily.

Many station personnel concluded from the subject matter and position of PSAs during the week that they were for the most part bland announcements of marginal value to the black community and that they were scheduled to interfere minimally with commercial saleable air time.

The mini-program, although formally undefined by the FCC, is perhaps the most significant program category on black-oriented radio because it punctuates the rhythm and blues format itself with pockets of explicit information, education and black heritage. Mini-programs are brief, typically one minute–although sometimes five minute–programs repeated from one to six times every day. Each black-oriented station broadcasts several mini-programs.

The following list of actual mini-program titles gives a notion of their topical content.

Community Calendar	Farm Report
Sound Off	Ready to Work
Your Opinion	Great Guy Salute
Job Opportunities	What's Shakin'
Call for Action	Aware (health, safety tips)
Profiles in Black (history)	Bust a Pusher
Advice (to housewives)	Hot Line
Job Mart	Drop-out
Home Economist	Lu's Notebook (news commentary)

Walter Conway, a thirty-year veteran of radio and former station manager of KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco), felt that the mini-program was the best way to incorporate public service information into black-oriented radio: "The only way is a fast message in between a record." Conway's own mini-program series on black history, "Profiles in Black," authored by him and produced by Bill Doubleday, the present station manager of KDIA, has received high praise and has been heard in every major city.

Occasionally a mini-program will reflect an on-going "public service" campaign which a station has incorporated into its overall public image, for example, WWRL's (New York City) "Bust a Pusher" campaign or WABQ's (Cleveland) campaign against car theft. In the former case, cleverly produced announcements caution against drug use and provide a special WWRL security phone number for informants to reveal anonymously the whereabouts of pushers. In the latter case, whenever the Cleveland police relay information to WABQ about a stolen car, a siren goes off at the station, and the presiding deejay interrupts his program to announce the license number and make of the car. Both WWRL and WABQ show evidence that their respective campaigns have been successful.

But the mini-program is still evolving as a program category and has received some serious criticism:

1) Often in a one-minute mini-program the useful information is surrounded by an extraordinary amount of station promotion or sponsor advertising. Within a single minute, for example, three quickly related job announcements, twice repeated, and a station identification line will be sandwiched between two tag lines such as: "(Drum roll) 'Job Offerings' is a community service program brought to you four times every day by W***, *your* community-minded station, in cooperation with (local government or civic agency)." Similarly, when a station promotes itself through its public service campaign with full-page advertising in local newspapers and in *Broadcasting,* it becomes difficult to discern where service ends and promotion begins.

2) Stations devote minimal time and energy to the production of mini-programs. They are either someone's third or fourth duty or produced nationally or regionally by a sponsor or organization.

3) Their subject matter, while unlike PSAs in that their information *is* often considered useful to the black community, almost always corresponds to the "poor people of the ghetto" analysis of black problems: "Clean up their houses, stop their crime, get them trained and into jobs and you'll have happy black men." There is no room for concepts like "culture," "black unity," "racism" or "cultural domination" in such an analysis. Sub-standard housing, education and job opportunities are major black community problems. Information contributing to their alleviation is a community service. Yet it remains a curiosity that mini-program selectivity on black-oriented radio quietly echoes the racism of the dominant culture even while analyzing and broadcasting to the serious problems of the black community.

Not all stations editorialize. Some that do, for example KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco) and WVON (Chicago), claim to have a strong editorial policy. Other stations simply affirm the existence of an editorial policy and cite as evidence certain show-piece editorials, for example "On the death of Martin Luther King," "Voter Registration," and "Give returning veterans a job." I was surprised at the lack of response to questioning in this area. Few examples of editorial copy were offered as evidence of editorial policy. Since such policy can be learned only through evidence of this nature, no further comment can be made in this report about the editorial program category.

Gospel Music and Religion

Gospel music, many say, is gradually disappearing from black-oriented radio, although most of the stations visited still played a daily, sometimes weekly, single-block segment of "Gospel." At present, Gospel is the second most played style of black-originated music on black-oriented radio. Its announcer is always a community personality well known among older community members.

Joe Bostic of WLIB (New York City), Rocky Bridges of WWRL (New York City), Dr. Daddy-O of WYLD (New Orleans), Al Moreland of KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco), Isabel Johnson of WVON (Chicago) and Mary Holt of WABQ (Cleveland) favor their stations' Gospel hours with warmth and memory, remembering birthdays, deaths, and anniversaries and announcing local church events between the Gospel songs. The songs themselves represent a distinctly religious genre:

GOD SAVE ME A SONG	Myrna Summers and Choir
I'VE GOT A SATISFIED MIND	Bill Moss and Celestials
SHOW ME THE WAY	Utterback Ensemble
RISE UP AND WALK	Carver Heights Choir
DO LORD	Interdenominational Choir[23]

Dr. Daddy-O offered a few words of explanation about the Gospel type of song:

"Each one has a different beat and a different place in the Gospel service, in keeping with the traditional Gospel pattern that came out of the cotton fields. Each has a special meaning in a Sunday morning ritual . . . It's the way they're joined together that matters, the quality of the sorrow songs between. Prayer, trial and conflict, security, temperance–touch all the bases with your music . . . It's elementary and powerful, and that's the beauty of it. There's so much great about Gospel music that you couldn't explain it on the Johnny Carson Show. Like the Gospel songs my grandmother used to hum around the house . . . I have an image of a person in church who is constantly amazed at the soft blend of miracles going on around him. I'm never a leader myself–it's always 'the Book says,' 'Mother says,' walking through the whole Gospel display, filling in their heritage."

Isabel Johnson commented about her show:

"I try to project first sincereness, second a love, faith, belief. I never open without a prayer. My favorite Gospel verse is John 3:16, 'God so loved . . . ' My favorite song is 'Only Believe' by Swan Silvertones. I do my thing because there is a need. I try to lift people, say a word of encouragement. I always take phone calls so they can call in and tell me of their bereavement or sorrow. This is needed in a big city like this, where so many of us are being killed."

I observed Dr. Daddy-O during one of his programs. He opened mail, chatted and laughed quietly with his listeners, and played a few records. A minister and his son came in off the street with a last-minute church picnic announcement. Five theology students walked over from their school to ask for donations in order to send a member of their church group to Korea as a missionary; Daddy-O set them up in the adjacent studio and interviewed them directly on the air. Daddy-O's show is scheduled at night during television prime time. I had a feeling, after the fifth interruption, that there were a lot of white folks in New Orleans watching television, but that the black folks in the city and far out into the bayous were with Daddy-O. His ratings showed it. He was number one in New Orleans, day or night, at the time of my visit. Shows like Dr. Daddy-O are not supposed to happen anymore.[24]

Strictly speaking, "religion" is a separate category of programming from Gospel music, although it is frequently adjacent to or part of a Gospel show, and vice versa. Typically, religious programming represents the greater part of a black-oriented station's Sunday programming–almost all paid for, commercially profitable time. One Sunday list, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., copied from WABQ's (Cleveland) composite week (Sunday, January 26, 1969) reads as follows:

Hour of Freedom
Poole Healing Temple
Hour of Blessing + TAG
Jesus of Nazareth
Prince Howard
Deliverance Evangelistic
Muhammad Speaks
Greater Friendship
Jesus of Nazareth
Prophet Thomas
Mother Crawford
Church of God
Church of Christ
House of Israel
International Temple
Rev. Franklin
Rev. Mason

While there is an unspoken selectivity of denominations, cash being an important criterion of acceptability, some of these programs represent authentic community religion and/or authentic community service. Mother Jones, for example, in one program aired on WYLD (New Orleans), read a letter of trouble from a woman with three children who needed government help and couldn't figure out how to get it. Mother Jones referred the woman to Family Service, the Urban League and Children's Division.

Other programs appear more dubious in intent. Rev. F. Eikerenkoetter, or Rev. Ike, who operates out of New York, buys time on at least three of the stations visited. The following outline gives an indication of one of Ike's ten minute programs:

New Orleans: June 15, 1970, WYLD, 8:20 p.m.–

Opening song and revival meeting atmosphere.
Man comes from crowd to testify to a miracle. He had put his hand on the radio and God cured his rupture.
Ike says, "God can operate without a knife!"
People repeat, "God can operate without a knife!"
The man remembered that he had had one of Ike's prayer clothes.
And the man testified again that he had also given a piece of prayer cloth to a neighbor who needed blood.
13 pints of blood from a prayer cloth!
Song.
Another witness, someone helped by the prayer cloth.
Plug: send a letter with prayer request.
Ike's address announced two times.
Plug: ask for prayer cloth and instructions on how to use it.
Ike's address announced two times.
Plug: ask for special blessing plan for financial aid, including information for those troubled by gambling, especially numbers and racing.
Ike's address announced two times.
Sign off.

A few radio personnel defended this type of minister. One announcer said, "Yes, they're out for money, but travel and ministering and preaching and tapes takes money. So I can't blame him for the pitch. Fifteen minutes of air time costs $70–$350 a week."

But some ministers evidently sell a little extra with their prayer cloths. One Gospel director claimed of these ministers:

"They wouldn't be allowed to operate in any other area [of broadcasting]. They're on the air with supposedly a religious service, and they're selling numbers. They're selling numbers. They're talking–'Jesus answers. Meet me, and you'll have a blessing.' Then they sell these poor devils a number. If the number hits, kickback. If it hits, then it's more advertising for these bums. It's a shame the FCC permits this. These people are real swindlers. They're preying on the superstition, fears, economic hopes of these people."

Another announcer complained,

"I don't like the religion commercials–come and see Sister ****–and the selling of numbers. 'Fire'–look under fire. They say so many words, and you have to figure out which one. Pay $25 for a number list and pay $45 to play them all which way–so you lose. I'd like to see those off the air."

After speaking with one announcer who had previously worked for a "prophet" and had himself mixed vegetable coloring and mineral oil to sell as holy oil, and after being told that this "prophet" had taken in hundreds of thousands of dollars from poor people, I decided to write to one asking for help. I wrote to Rev. Dave Epley who works out of St. Louis and who had bought time on several of the stations visited. I think I would have preferred to have received a "dream book" or some such numbers list rather than the letter he sent me.

I received a printed form letter entitled "IS IT THE TRUTH, OR A LIE?" dated August, 1970. At top, a black hand held forth a billfold stuffed with hundred, fifty and twenty dollar bills. At bottom, a horn of plenty spewed forth coins, suits of clothes, stocks, a shiny car, a boat and a house, all in a bed of paper money. I will reprint the two-page text in full, because some readers would possibly not believe a summary:

My Dearest Friend,

I want to begin this letter today by asking you some very important questions. Think about them for just a moment, and then answer them right out of your heart.....

IS IT THE TRUTH, OR A LIE?

That we must always look sad to look sacred?

That God must keep us sick in order to keep us under subjection?

That we will pray more and love God more living in a shack rather than a nice home?

That we will go to church more often if we are driving a rattle-trap rather than good car?

That God must keep us in rags to keep us righteous?

That we must not know where our next meal is coming from, in order to depend on God?

That we must take an oath of poverty and never have anything, so we can stay humble and go to Heaven?

Are these things the truth, or are they a lie???

I cannot answer these questions for you; but, I can answer them for myself. Every one of them is a lie....lie....lie....! These are lies the Devil has taught our fathers and forefathers to rob us from the real blessing of God and to keep us from actually knowing how much God really does care for us and wants to do for us. One of the most beautiful stories in the Holy Bible is found in the 15th Chapter of St. Luke . . . The prodigal son was in the pig pen perishing with hunger! But when he " . . . CAME TO HIMSELF . . . " he said, in my father's house even the servants have bread enough to spare, and here I am perishing with hunger. I will arise and go to my father . . . And when he did, his father met him before he got there! He put a new robe on his back, a ring on his finger, new shoes on his feet, HALLELUJAH! And said let's kill the fatted calf and be merry . . . In other words, MY SON HAS COME TO HIMSELF!

Yes, my friend, when we come to ourself, we know that it is our Heavenly Father's will to give us His best. Can you say amen? The Devil will tell us we can't do any better. That we must stay sick for the Glory of God. That we must stay poor and have nothing so we can stay close to God and Humble. But, Jesus said the Devil was a LIAR FROM THE BEGINNING!!!

We must do as the prodigal son did. We MUST MAKE UP OUR MIND THAT THERE IS SOMETHING BETTER FOR US, AND ARISE AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT! We must know the difference between a lie and the truth; the blessing of God, and the curse of the devil. I have just come

out of the SECRET PLACE where I was shut away with God for seven days, and while I was there, God gave me something very special for you. But before you turn this page and read what God spoke to me in the Secret Place, I want you to bow your head right now, and say these words, three times . . .

"OH GOD, THY WILL BE DONE, THY WILL BE DONE, THY WILL BE DONE" . . .!!!

Everyday while I was shut away with God, I was placing prayer requests on my altar. Just about every kind of request that you could think of . . . But I began to notice that at least half of them were concerning finances in particular, and at least 90 percent of them made some mention about needing a financial blessing. I placed my hands on these letters AND BEGAN TO TALK TO GOD VERY SERIOUSLY about this money situation that so many people were having trouble with. While I was praying one night at the altar (during this shut in period), the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon me to do something very unusual . . . He told me to take some billfolds and to take SOMETHING THAT LOOKED LIKE MONEY and put it in the billfolds and then place them on the altar and dedicate them unto the Lord! I sent word from my SECRET PLACE and had my printer print me something that resembled money. When these prosperity bills were brought to me, each one looked the color of gold. I put one bill in each of these billfolds and THEN PLACED THE BILLFOLDS ON THE ALTAR AND STARTED PRAYING OVER THEM!!! I had been praying about thirty minutes when the Spirit of God fell in the room like I have never felt it in my life . . . HALLELUJAH! Then the Lord spoke to me these words . . .

"FOR YEA MY SON, TOO LONG HAVE MY PEOPLE BEEN BOUND BY THIS SPIRIT OF POVERTY AND I AM NOT PLEASED . . . HAVE I NOT SAID IN THE PAST THAT IT IS MY GOOD PLEASURE TO GIVE UNTO THEM THE KINGDOM? AM I A MAN THAT I CAN LIE? HEARKEN UNTO ME, MY CHILDREN, AND I SHALL CAUSE THEE TO EAT THE FAT OF THE LAND, AND I SAY UNTO THEE THAT I SHALL PUT THE HEATHEN BENEATH THY FEET, AND I SHALL CAUSE THEE TO LOAN AND NOT BORROW, SAITH THE ALMIGHTY . . . I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY SERVANT CONCERNING THESE THINGS SO GIVE HEED UNTO ALL THAT HE SHALL SPEAK UNTO THEE . . . "

Oh Praise God, I was actually shaking all over with the power of the Lord as I started picking up these billfolds and praying over them, and this great Prophecy that God gave me for you . . . (read it again).

I would like to send you one of these MIRACLE BILLFOLDS WITH THE PROSPERITY BILL inside of it and I know it will be a real blessing to you. When I send it to you I also am going to tell you three . . . simple steps to take to have more money in your home and life. When you send for your MIRACLE BILLFOLD, I want you to give a $12 faith offering unto the Lord. This is not to buy something from God. Oh no, you and I both know there is not enough money in the world to buy the blessing of God. Can you say, "amen"? But in your giving you show God that you have a giving heart and you are interested in helping others BY YOUR GIVING. When God sees this, He just automatically starts to bless you. I have your billfold here now before me and will rush it to you as soon as I get your return letter. Fill out the PARTNER SLIP that I'm sending you, especially where it says, "WHAT DO YOU NEED A FINANCIAL BLESSING FOR . . . " Because I will take this request personally upon my heart. As I close this letter, let me remind you once again of the prodigal son who made up his mind there was something better in life for him . . . AND HE DID SOMETHING ABOUT IT!!! How about you?

With love,
Your life-long friend and prayer partner,
Brother Epley

One announcer commented about the dependency of such a preacher on radio time: "If we don't carry it he'll fold."

Public Affairs Programming of Length

In this report the ingredients of black-oriented radio sound have been discussed in a sequence approximating their importance to the "sound as it is" of black-oriented radio. Public affairs programming of length must be considered last.

"Public affairs programs," as defined in the license renewal application, "include talks, commentaries, discussions, speeches, editorials, political programs, documentaries, forums, panels, round tables, and similar programs primarily concerning local, national and international public affairs." Here, for the purpose of more accurately reflecting the "sound as it is" of black-oriented radio, public affairs programming of length is distinguished from public affairs programming of under ten minutes duration (the mini-program length).

Every black-oriented station offers its particular "show piece" public affairs program, usually one hour or more in length, often broadcast on Saturday morning or Sunday afternoon. In addition, each station compiles a few additional hours of public affairs broadcast time from fifteen or thirty minute segments regionally or nationally produced under the auspices of NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, Operation Breadbasket or some other organization.

Several "show piece" programs are outstanding examples of broadcasting in response to public need. WVON, for example, broadcasts one and a half hours of the four and a half hour Jesse Jackson "Operation Breadbasket" Saturday morning meeting in Chicago. I have vivid memories of two such meetings. Several thousand participants gathered in a huge, old-fashioned movie theater, its stage filled with the Operation Breadbasket choir, posters announcing black-owned produce, and guests–when I was there LeRoi Jones, a representative of Governor Romney and Marshall Field V, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, were among the guests.

One sign dominated the stage, posing a basic Operation Breadbasket question: "HAVE YOU FED SOMEONE TODAY?" By 8:30 a.m. the theater was loosely filled; by 9 a.m. it was packed. One four and a half hour meeting included the black national anthem, gospel music from the Breadbasket Choir, Jesse Jackson's hard prose-poetry drawing strategies for black liberation, boycott announcements, economic advice, political planning, the powerful response of thousands of hands clapping in rhythm, Scripture, poetry and interviews. Unfortunately, these meetings, while being broadcast in part on black-oriented radio, were at the same time evidence, through their excellence, of the cultural superficiality of most

black-oriented radio sound.

WABQ (Cleveland) broadcasts "Ring-a-Ding" from 11:00 a.m. to noon daily. Curt Shaw, WABQ's music director and part-time deejay, leads a phone-in discussion program, occasionally with a guest present to help field questions. "Ring-a-Ding" received many compliments from Cleveland broadcasting personnel. It gave the black community, they felt, a chance to express itself.

In similar fashion, programs with names such as "Tell It Like It Is," "Front and Center" and "Black Montage" broadcast in different cities around the country their own peculiar combination of discussion, interviews, feed-back, fact and opinion of particular interest to the black community. Few, however, approach the cultural complexity of an Operation Breadbasket meeting.

There are, moreover, serious complaints about present public affairs programming. One producer of a "show-piece" program, who typically held other "full time" duties at his station, commented, "It's a vehicle by which we might probe deeper into issues that can't be dealt with in a simple fashion. Any station that does that today is a great station. But in so doing, it is understaffed and handled by one, me. So its growth potential is determined–its growth is what it is. It requires three people full time. And it's snowed under by time–it ought to be in prime time if broadcast to a black audience."

One station manager commented, "You make the Sunday afternoon thing as best you can, realizing that it's a broadcast ghetto–put it on and please the FCC. It's a compromise, and if you do it well it can be better than nothing."

Several station personnel complained that the public affairs programming did not probe deeply into community problems either because of the selection of subject matter or because of the impossibility of making a sustained series of comments about a serious issue even on these programs. Several community leaders complained that the stations spent as little as possible of their own resources for public affairs programming; they rather placed burden of responsibility for preparing these shows on community organizations with little experience or resources of their own.

Broadcasters, in turn, complain that they lose ratings with public affairs programming of length. There is every indication, however, that black-oriented radio has not yet experienced a serious attempt to broadcast well in this area. A program pieced hurriedly together with left-over time, energy and station commitment is destined to draw the left-overs in ratings and advertising. There must be a serious financial commitment to the public affairs area of broadcasting before its true audience effect can even begin to be measured.

Dave Hilliard, acting chairman under Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party, commented succinctly about black-oriented radio:

The only social relevance it has is that it has exploited us culturally. It has taken our music and given it to us with commercials every ten seconds. That is cultural infiltration.

The next section of this report will discuss some alternatives to present black-oriented broadcasting practice.

IV. PREMISES FOR CHANGE

The Closed System

The present practice of black-oriented radio implies a closed theoretical and practical system based on a few premises generally assumed by American broadcasting. In other words, granting a few presuppositions about broadcasting, most policies and practices of black-oriented broadcasting can be explained in terms of the presuppositions. Among ownership, a tight pseudo-logic emerges from this situation which argues that there is no viable alternative to present broadcasting procedures and which sets firmly the parameters within which the motivation and talent of station management and personnel are "free" to operate. Knowledge of the inevitability of these parameters, moreover, tends to preclude or lessen fundamental questioning of procedures on the part of station management and personnel, and frequently engenders in them a pride and enthusiasm for what they are actually able to accomplish within the parameters.

The Minor in the Major Premise

A story is told of an American steel corporation president who had been invited to India as an industrial consultant. After his first impression of India's system of steel mills, he enthusiastically claimed that in no time at all he would be able to double profits and increase productivity at the mills. The mills in India, he claimed, were terribly inefficient, employing five men where only one was needed and overlapping shifts unnecessarily. His solution at first seemed simple to him: lay off workers. One month later, the American had changed his mind. "You know," he said, "I don't think my solution would have worked very well. Their objective in running the steel mills over here is to provide employment for their people."

A conflict of interest similar to that expressed in the story exists within American broadcasting. Its major premise ought to be, according to its agreement with the people through the FCC, to serve the public convenience, interest and necessity. On the other hand, the major premise of American corporate enterprise, which broadcasters admittedly follow, is profit. Although alternatives have not been extensively tried in this country, broadcasters argue that this profit incentive is the only adequate basis for the development of a highly professional, "competitive" broadcasting service. It may, or may not, be. There is, however, a minor premise implied in the major premise as it is frequently carried out in broadcasting. This minor premise seems essentially destructive of good broadcasting; it is the incentive of *maximal* profit. The incentive of *maximal* profit has as its primary objective *the extension of the profit margin to the threshold of public outrage* which in turn might threaten the profit margin.

It is important to examine the procedures of black-oriented radio in order to determine the extent to which they follow from the premise of maximal profit.

1) The greater the share of a city's listening audience a station commands, the greater the amount of advertising it attracts and the higher the advertising rates it can charge. The rhythm and blues format sound offers several advantages for attracting a major share of a city's listening audience. It is escapist. Although escape from the burden of reality is not the only need or interest of the black community, it is a real need which can be satisfied with less operation cost than any other community need or interest. Secondly, in the manner of a format sound, it is escapist at every prime broadcasting hour. This consistency engenders an almost addictive dependency and a level of expectation among its listeners who can be interpreted as seldom questioning *what* is being broadcast unless it interrupts the expected entertainment. Finally, although the rhythm and blues format sound is black-oriented, thus insuring a major share of the black listening audience, it attracts many white listeners, notably teenage, who enjoy a "soul" edge to their rock music. This particular segment of the white audience, which adds to the station's ratings and profit dollar, would probably be lost by any serious attempt to program to a broad spectrum of black community needs.

In other words, black-oriented radio is after maximal audience ratings and, in turn, maximal profit at lowest cost. Their formula is to be "black," escapist and as "professional" as any competing general market station. Other options for black-oriented broadcasting are excluded systematically not because they are *un*profitable, but simply because they are *less* profitable.

This pursuit of maximal audience ratings has been called the "numbers game." Behind it are several presuppositions either in partial or complete contradiction to the expectations of the FCC in granting a license and the pledge of the licensee in accepting a license:

> a) That broadcasting to the *most* people at any given hour is broadcasting in the community convenience, interest and necessity, or, in other words, that the highest ratings mean the best broadcasting service.
> b) That what people in great numbers listen to–because there are no alternatives, because it is enjoyable and relaxing or simply because it is black (the possibilities have not been tested)–is an adequate response to their needs and interests.
> c) That the "numbers game" *must* be played as a prerequisite for broadcasting survival and community service.

The "numbers game" need not be played outside of the context of the maximal profit motive. There is no adequate evidence, moreover, that the black listening audience would not respond positively in large numbers to creative alternatives to the present rhythm and blues format.

2) The share of a station's listening audience is determined by audience surveys. Moreover, it is considered likely that listeners tune in to stations and respond to questions about stations according to an image remembered in association with

a station's name. It makes good business sense, therefore, to propagandize a specific station image and to repetitiously associate "more music" and "*your* community station" slogans with the station call letters. It makes sense to use mini-program time for this purpose. It makes sense to mount an entire station image campaign in terms of public service. As a result of this struggle for high ratings, stations may be legitimately suspected of spending more money in the production of a "community involved" image than in the production of actual programming in the interest of community involvement. This behavior in radio broadcasting, amply exemplified in black-oriented radio, is not a consequence of survival or service; it is a consequence of *maximal* profit motivation.

3) A third consequence in black-oriented broadcasting that can be explained primarily through the maximal profit premise is its fundamentally non-experimental nature. Black-oriented radio experiments, for the most part, only with extensions and modifications within its presently lucrative rhythm and blues format. It cannot envision that alternative styles of broadcasting might increase profit, and it sees no reason to risk making less profit.

Moreover, major investment of capital in any new style of black-oriented broadcasting which would transform it from an entertainment medium to an information medium, while a profitable possibility, might open a Pandora's box of public demand. At present, most radio broadcasting ownership interests, including black-oriented radio ownership interests, seem to prefer radio stations which operate like cows in a pasture: input a certain amount of feed and obtain an even, regular measure of milk from the entire herd. Serious community involvement might unsettle things. It might reveal that the total black community broadcasting expectation–as yet unmeasured by any adequate sampling technique–when emancipated from its narcotic boundaries by a professional alternative to rhythm and blues programming, would disturb the maximal flow of cash, perhaps disturb the present state of ownership.

4) It is now possible to elaborate a number of day-to-day black-oriented broadcasting policies which are implied within the perspective of the maximal profit motive. Here are three:

a) News must be kept in its place;
b) Only token amounts of cash and man-hours need be invested in community service programming;
c) Ethically marginal advertising dollars, for example, television rentals and "preachers" of doubtful intent, may be accepted until public outrage, either through station personnel or listeners, threatens the image of the station.

5) A phenomenon accompanying the broadcasting procedures derived from the maximal profit motive is the disarming nature of the tight pseudo-logic, mentioned above, surrounding its perpetuation. Objections to the present style of broadcasting or suggestions for alternative procedures offered by station personnel, the community, the FCC and management itself can be categorized, countered and left foundering in a sea of explanations. "There is no other way to operate; there is nothing else that can be done."

For broadcasting personnel struggling to maintain a livelihood, who can remember the blatant unprofessionality of black-oriented radio in years past, today's polished format sound and the existing news and public service allotments of time are hard-earned measures of progress in a broadcasting system apparently devoid of alternatives. These signs of progress, moreover, when perceived through pleasant working conditions, personal ambition and the exercise of creativity, although carefully contained within the parameters of maximal profit broadcasting rules, tend to project the illusion of intense community service. Unfortunately, in the context of black-oriented radio, this illusion recalls another illusion from black history. Is black-oriented radio very far removed from those plantations which also allegedly operated in the best interest of the black community?

"There is No Other Way to Operate: There is Nothing Else That Can Be Done"

The radio broadcasting industry is not about to change the suppositions behind its profit capacity. The FCC, moreover, has been content for years to be told by the broadcasting industry exactly how far it can push, and although it can be prodded into occasional action in the public interest, the FCC is one of the many segments of subgovernment which operate, through a facade of intermittent enmity, in the interest of a specific industry. The general public is unorganized and has been lulled into the acceptance of broadcasting's narcotic placebo; those individuals or groups who naively question or request something better find themselves caught in broadcasting's web of logical magic, are given a smile or token concession and, if they endure, disappear in a labyrinth of bureaucratic legerdemain at the FCC.[25] Thus every three years at license renewal time broadcasting pieces together its own story of its stewardship of the public trust, bolsters its story with lists and letters and considers itself "re-elected," "given a mandate" by its constituency to continue operating in the public interest for the subsequent three years.

Black-oriented radio, it must be repeated here as it has been stated at several junctures in this report, is not necessarily more or less ethical or of more or less value to its listening community than other specific types of general market stations. Others may judge it to be more or less so. The logic of this report does assert, however,

1) that the power of black-oriented radio in terms of its audience is one of the most striking phenomena in contemporary broadcasting (in section I, "Audience Power");
2) that the power of black-oriented radio in terms of

profit, organization and ownership is significant (in section I, "Profit, Chain, Ownership Power");
3) that the *pledge* of black-oriented radio ownership to the public through the FCC has been to serve its black listening audience according to its (the audience's) convenience, interest and necessity irrespective of what other broadcasting may or may not do (in section I, "Audience Power"), and
4) that black-oriented radio has failed to serve this public interest both incidentally and systematically (in sections II and III).

It is also a contention of this report that black-oriented radio is a measure of the ability of American broadcasting to rise to an occasion of remarkable service, and that it is such a measure in more than a metaphorical sense since it shares the premises of general market broadcasting (in sections II and IV).

Change in black-oriented broadcasting, therefore, faces deeply entrenched obstacles, the most fundamental of which are lodged in the premise of maximal profit. On the other hand, should community groups or individuals, who feel that they and their communities can gain the most from change, decide to work for change in black-oriented broadcasting, they will be making progress which has the power to affect the quality of broadcasting in general and perhaps the quality of American life in other areas.

Within this context, two major scenarios for change stand out, both involving the effective use of public outrage, apparently the only remaining path of change in the face of industry-wide and governmental intransigency.

1) Community organization control of a "non-profit" broadcasting facility.

Community Organization:

a) It is perhaps most fitting that a public trust be operated under the auspices of a public interest group rather than by ownership interests in the usual sense.

b) The community organization envisioned here is a group of community members committed to service within their community, representing either a single organizational perspective or, perhaps more appropriately, a coalition of organizational perspectives.

c) To insure its competence in ascertaining and guiding an adequate broadcasting response to a broad spectrum of community needs and opinion, such an organization would do well to train certain membership in the basics of broadcasting law, procedures and service. The United Church of Christ has been known to organize workshops for this purpose.[26]

d) The community organization, if it wishes to realize its own broadcasting goals which would presumably differ from those goals most operative in the general broadcasting industry, would do well to hire management and personnel who can understand the differential in goals and operate creatively within the new goal perspective. In other words, if a new style of black-oriented broadcasting, operating on a non-maximal profit premise, is to emerge, management and personnel involved with it must be able to envision alternatives to maximal profit procedures.

e) The emphasis in this report in favor of community organization control as distinct from black ownership in a traditional ownership interest sense is rooted in an ambiguity toward black ownership felt among black community leadership. No one voiced an opinion *against* black ownership. In fact, it was in general felt that, all other things being equal, a black man in an ownership position would have more empathy toward and be more accessible to the black community. Moreover, if money is going to be made from black people, they felt, it might more appropriately be made by black owners. On the other hand, several leaders and station personnel voiced the opinion that present black ownership interests–at last count representing 11 stations–seemed so far to be doing nothing more outstanding for their communities than white ownership interests. From one point of view, presumably not the point of view of the community organization envisioned here, why should they? Yet if this charge is true, is it the result of an inability to cope with the weight of present industry practices, due partially to the procedures of hiring management and due partially to the inability of ownership to devote time to the serious understanding and investigation of broadcasting possibilities? Or is it the result of a perspective which Percy Sutton, the borough president of Manhattan, bluntly termed "Afro-Saxon"?

f) One community organization, Reconciliation Inc., although not "non-profit" in the sense to be described below, is in the process of beginning black-oriented radio in Omaha, having purchased KOZN and KOWH-FM from Starr Broadcasting for $375,000. Some of their financing accrued from private investment and a bank loan; some from a loan from the Methodist Church. Rodney Wead, the president of Reconciliation Inc., expressed the hope that the broad-based community organization representation within Reconciliation Inc. would insure a new style of community service-oriented station. At the time of interview, it was uncertain whether or not the group would be able to overcome several of the difficulties mentioned above.

"Non-Profit":

a) A station must yield a sufficient amount of money to pay for its purchase and its maintenance. Money earned beyond that is usually considered profit. A community organization sponsored station would cut to the heart of the *maximal* profit problem in broadcasting by paying its controlling trustees and advisors salaries and by awarding money earned over and above operating expenses to funds backing various other community objectives. This style of operation is particularly

appropriate when dealing with profit from a public trust.

b) "Non-profit" implies that the primary objective of the community organization in broadcasting would be community service. In other words, while motivated to regain operational expenses as a condition for the station's existence, the success of its existence would be measured in terms of its margin of service, not its margin of profit.

c) Broadcasting is a hard business that can easily fail. It sometimes costs several hundred thousand dollars per year to operate a station which is only superficially involved with its community; it may cost a lot more to operate a station which is authentically responding to community needs and interests. Broadcasters use this fact to entrench themselves behind a bonanza rhythm and blues format; new owners are likely to use this fact to begin their broadcasting service with the rhythm and blues formula. The fact is a real one and necessitates, therefore, that expertise and caution be employed in shaping a new style of black-oriented broadcasting. But granted an energy and technical expertise equivalent to that which has developed rhythm and blues radio and granted the openness to black-oriented broadcasting on the part of the black listening audience, there is no reason to predict that a carefully planned alternative to the rhythm and blues format would not earn enough money to support itself.

Control:

a) In general, all the available air frequencies in urban areas have already been licensed. One way to gain control of an already licensed broadcasting frequency is to petition the FCC for transfer of ownership and to purchase the facility which broadcasts over the frequency. There are, however, few facilities up for sale at any given time, particularly to black people, and these are expensive. Should a facility become available, it has been known to be impossible for black interests to borrow enough local money to purchase it, again apparently because they are black, and it may be necessary to obtain a loan from outside of the applicant's state. Effective pressure through community organization (in other words, the tactic of public ourtage) may bring solutions to the above problems; seemingly nothing else will. Grants and low- or no-interest loans from religious organizations are also possibilities.

b) A second way to gain control over an air frequency is to successfully challenge the present licensee's privilege of broadcasting over it, to be granted the use of it by the FCC and then to purchase the former licensee's broadcasting facility. Theoretically this method appears easy, and some of the preliminary steps in the process are not difficult. They include the investigation of everything about a station open to public view, particularly by monitoring the station sound and examining past license applications of the station filed at the FCC, and the discovery of those aspects of a station's operation which are discrepant with pledges made in its license application or are abuses of its public trust. Such preliminary work is usually followed by a "petition to deny" filed with the FCC and a subsequent application for the denied license. Legal battles are costly, however, and FCC proceedings lead to interminable delays.[27]

2) The second major scenario for change involves forceful containment of the maximal profit motive in present ownership.

Ownership will not voluntarily earn less money in order to better serve the public interest. Barring this self control, governmental intervention represents one alternative. Is it possible that the FCC could learn to take seriously the implications of Section IV, Part I of license application forms, tighten the numerous loopholes in the present forms, institute a procedure to monitor the actual "sound as it is" of stations, legislate concerning excessive advertising and station promotion and hold individual stations responsible for service according to the peculiar dynamics of their respective power, profit, and license pledges? Broadcasters, fearful of any governmental intervention which might lessen their free speech or profit, would not wish it to do so. Yet recent Supreme Court decisions, which give the FCC greater latitude in effecting station programming, hold out some hope for its more adequate protection of the public trust.

Barring self control and governmental intervention, the direct action of community organizations seems the only remaining alternative. One scenario for such action by a community organization resembles preliminary license challenging procedures: the organization must learn as much, or more, about the station in question than ownership knows, formulate specific objections to present practice, formulate specific demands for improvement and threaten FCC action. If demands are not met, an investigation from the FCC or an actual challenge may be in order. If demands are met, continued monitoring and surveillance may be in order. This method of direct community action has recently met with initial success in several cities, for example Atlanta, Jackson, and Columbus, where, through the threat of challenge, community coalitions specified their demands in individual negotiations with all of the cities' broadcasters that black men 1) be equally employed and 2) be employed at every level of broadcasting operations.

In fifteen or twenty years, it may no longer be an interesting or fruitful experiment to broadcast to the needs of a specific racial group. Even today, some critics of black-oriented radio claim that there ought not be a "separate" system of mass media directed to the black community. Others say that the black community should forcibly make its presence felt in general market media, particularly in the newly evolving CATV systems, rather than concern itself with black-oriented radio. Black-oriented radio remains a powerful fact, however, and community leadership recognizes its potential to help guide their communities through the next one or two decades.

Will black-oriented radio in 1980 broadcast a shiny rhythm and blues format mask disguising college-educated black voices? If conditions are such in this country that it can attempt to do so, our country may not have much future. If, on the other hand, the force of black community consciousness assumes a role in determining the future of black-oriented radio, its broadcasting may become an inventive information-entertainment rallying point contributing to the mobilization of black community response to black community needs.

Granting, then, that some kind of access to radio broadcasting frequencies is desired and achieved by individuals or organizations wishing, without a maximal profit motive, to satisfy a broad spectrum of needs of a predominantly black listening audience, what specific changes in present black-oriented programming might be attempted? The suggestions received from black leadership and station personnel around the country have been numerous. Primary on their list of demands have been increased news coverage with extensive investigative reporting and news analysis, a strong editorial policy, a reduction of incessant station promotion and commercials, a greater variety of entertainment programming, more opportunity for segments of the black community to express themselves in depth over community and national issues, and serious public affairs programming.

Some suggestions were more particularized, indicating in part that a new black-oriented broadcasting style need not be a dour system of educational force-feeding, in case anyone might have thought that investigative reporting or a Jesse Jackson Operation Breadbasket cultural montage, for example, would lead to that.

"I believe there should be spot announcements and entire programs dealing with black history and achievement, not only from the standpoint of names and dates and places, but ideology and philosophy."

"A music history show. Black music–where it came from, where it's going. People don't know, mainly because it's being stolen by everyone in sight. That's what I mean by education–make it entertaining and at the same time informative. The same with book reviews."

"Where black people could get employment. Tell exactly where to go that day. Tell them where to go for help and training. Early in the morning. One half hour."

"In the first place, the station must conceive of itself as a communications device and not a juke box. It would open its airwaves to a lot more people than are now on it so that the community could talk to itself, communicate to itself. It would consider itself an information source–not just news. When you think of yourself as an information source, you do different things. You play a record, but you talk to the star and get his thoughts behind it. You do news, but then you get people to comment on it–ordinary people, then important people. As a station you become a leader so that editorially you try to get the community to do the best that you think it should do. Then open up time for the community to yell back at you. So, instead of all the signals and all the ideas emanating from the station, you have it two ways. Broadcasting is now like a hospital. You go to a broadcaster in a sterile studio, and he sits there and decides what he allows out in terms of profit, right sound, his ideas, and so forth."

"I'd like to see a program so that youngsters in high school could come in and air their grief."

"More programs relating to educational opportunity and higher education."

"Black humor has not been developed on radio yet."

"I think that more than anything the black community needs a program that will report accurately the brutality and misfortunes that we are victims to in our many black communities. This would mean that individuals from the black community would be allowed to walk into a radio station any time that the situation calls for it and report to the community their grievances be they against local police officers or the exploiting avariciousness of the business man. That would truly be a people's radio station. Anything short of that is just wasted time. We want to air our problems. We need a station where black people can air their problems."

"The role of black radio is different from that of white radio. It must inform, inspire, educate."

Broadcasters smile at these requests. "They are costly. Ratings would go down. No one is capable of news analysis." But this is a matter of priorities. If as much money and energy were spent in designing a public affairs series or preparing editorials based on extensive news gathering as is devoted to the production of a station "jingle" package or the weekly rhythm and blues hit list, black-oriented radio would be a radically different medium, capable perhaps of discerning with new eyes the immense extent of black analytical power waiting, no longer so patiently, for something to happen.

APPENDIX ONE

List of Black-Oriented Radio Stations Visited and Individuals Interviewed

The stations marked with an asterisk were studied in greater depth than the unmarked stations. I wish to thank management and personnel at all stations for their friendliness and patience during numerous long interviews.

KATZ (St. Louis)
*KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco)
KSOL (San Francisco), at time of publication no longer a black-oriented station
*KWK (St. Louis)
*KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
*WABQ (Cleveland)
WBEE (Chicago)
WBOK (New Orleans)
WGRT (Chicago)
WJMO (Cleveland)
WLIB (New York City)
*WVON (Chicago)
*WWRL (New York City)
*WYLD (New Orleans)

List of Individuals Interviewed

This list is arranged alphabetically; the job position noted for each individual indicates the position held at the time of interview; the city name indicates the location of the station or branch office where the interview took place. The interviews averaged 45 minutes each.

Decater Agnew, news department, KWK (St. Louis)
Laplois Ashford, executive director, Chicago Urban League
Hon. Israel M. Augustine, Jr., judge of the city of New Orleans
Jerry B., announcer, WWRL (New York City)
Harold Bathone, news director, *Louisiana Weekly* (New Orleans)
Alvin Benjamin, engineer, WYLD (New Orleans)
Tom Berkley, publisher, *The Post* (Berkeley, California)
Fred Berthelson, general manager, WTIX (New Orleans)
Kenneth A. Bickl, executive secretary to Cleveland local, AFTRA
Jan Bina, announcer, WDSM (Chicago)
Robert L. Boozer, part owner, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Joe Bostic, Gospel music director, WLIB (New York City)
Walter Bouché, general manager, WBYU-FM (New Orleans)
Jerry Boulding, Vice president in charge of programming, Sonderling Broadcasting Corporation; program director, WWRL (New York City)
Rocky Bridges, Gospel announcer and director of religious programming, WWRL (New York City)
Caroline Brooks, news department and community service programming, WYLD (New Orleans)
Richard Bryant, program director, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Rev. Curtis E. Burrell, Jr., director, Kenwood-Oakwood Community Organization, KOCO (Chicago)
James Butler, program director, KMOX (St. Louis)
Gary Byrd, announcer, WWRL (New York City)
Randy Callender, program director, WYLD (New Orleans)
Les Campbell, news department, WWRL (New York City)
Walter Carol, director of sales department, KDIA (Oakland)
Ernie Chambers, barber, candidate for Nebraska State Senate (Omaha)
Arthur J. Chapital, director, NAACP (New Orleans)
Walter Conway, station manager, KJAZ; former station manager, KDIA; author and director, with William Doubleday, of *Profiles in Black* (Oakland)
Lucky Cordell, assistant general manager, WVON; executive secretary of NATRA (Chicago)
Don Cornelius, news department, WVON (Chicago)
William Crane, announcer, WVON (Chicago)
E. A. Daly, editor and publisher, *California Voice* (Oakland)
Michael Darcy, national program director, Starr Broadcasting
Marjorie F. Davis, copy writer, WYLD (New Orleans)
David Dean, news director, KSOL (San Francisco)
William A. Dean, former general manager, WWL (New Orleans)
Harold Dennis, announcer, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Simo Doe, assistant to vice-president, production staff, WLIB (New York City)
William Doubleday, general manager, KDIA (Oakland)
Bill S. Dukeshire, director of sales department, WYLD (New Orleans)
Judy Dunlap, director of community relations, WGRT (Chicago)
Doug Eason, general manager, KATZ (St. Louis)
Al Eisenberg, general manager, KWK (St. Louis)
Caston Elie, assistant to the mayor, New Orleans
Charles Elloie, youth coordinator for the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, City Hall (New Orleans)
Fred Ferretti, broadcasting columnist, *New York Times*
Dr. Norman Francis, president, Xavier University of Louisiana (New Orleans)
Louis Freeman, news director, KDIA (Oakland)
Sylvan Friedman, account executive, WDSM (Chicago)
Clifton Gates, part owner, KWK (St. Louis)
Jim Gates, department of religious programming, WWRL (New York City)
William German, director of sales department, WBEE (Chicago)
D. Parke Gibson, president, D. Parke Gibson Associates; author of *The $30 Billion Negro* (New York City)
Scott Gorman, news department, WLIB (New York City)
Kevin Graf, head engineer, WABQ (Cleveland)
Enoch Gregory, announcer, WWRL (New York City)
Robert Hardy, news director, KMOX (St. Louis)
Jack Harris, sales department, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha) (at the time of publication, Mr. Harris is program director)
Raymond P. Hart, radio-television columnist, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*
Kenneth Hawkins, general manager, WJMO (Cleveland)
Bernie Hayes, music director, KWK (St. Louis)
Bill Hickey, radio-television columnist, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*
Baxter Hill, executive director of Pride, Inc. (Cleveland)
David Hilliard, chief of staff under Eldridge Cleaver of Black Panther Party (Oakland)
Mary Holt, director of Gospel music, WABQ (Cleveland)

Emmit M. Horne, assistant to the president, Malcolm X College (Chicago)
Laura Howard, announcer, WYLD (New Orleans)
Robert D. Hudson, Jr., general manager, WYLD (New Orleans)
Dr. Charles G. Hurst, Jr., president, Malcolm X College (Chicago)
Robert Hyland, general manager, KMOX (St. Louis)
Leo A. Jackson, Councilman of the City of Cleveland
John N. Jay, general manager, WABQ (Cleveland)
Dr. Ralph Jennings, communications analyst, Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ (New York City)
Isabel Joseph Johnson, Gospel and religion director, WVON (Chicago)
Nicholas Johnson, FCC commissioner (Washington, D.C.)
Ralph Johnson, president, Rounsaville Radio Station (interview in New Orleans)
E. Rodney Jones, program director and music director, WVON (Chicago)
Earnest Jones, announcer, WABQ (Cleveland)
Larry Keith, sales department, KWK (St. Louis)
Herb Kent, announcer, WVON (Chicago)
Samuel L. Knight, sales manager, WABQ (Cleveland)
Edward Kohout, vice-president, The Omaha National Bank of Omaha, Nebraska (Omaha)
J. Jerome Lackamp, executive producer of Catholic radio and television for the Diocese of Cleveland
Roy Lambert, engineer, KWK (St. Louis)
L. J. Lancer, news department, WABQ (Cleveland)
Richard London, news director, WWRL (New York City)
John Lyons, engineer, WWRL (New York City)
Dr. S. Franklin Mack, deputy director of the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ (New York City)
Mattie Majors, news department, WABQ (Ceveland)
William Manney, general manager, WBEE (Chicago)
Norman Mark, radio and television critic, *Chicago Daily News*
Bernie R. McCain, community relations director, WWRL (New York City)
Richard McCauley, general manager, WERE (Cleveland)
Robert McDole, general manager, KOZN and KOWH-FM (Omaha) (at time of publication, Robert Nichols is general manager)
Larry McKinley, announcer, WYLD (New Orleans)
E. Duke McNeil, president, The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) (Chicago)
Pat McPartland, director of research and sales development, Bernard Howard, Inc. (New York City)
William Merchant, director of public information, Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action (YIA) Radio (New York City)
Mark Gordon Meyers, news department, KWK (St. Louis)
Tom Michaels, national program director, Star Stations Inc. (Omaha)
Les Molloy, owner, KSOL (San Francisco)
Raymond J. Mooney, metropolitan director of the Cleveland branch of the NAACP
Chuck Moore, news department, WLIB (New York City)
Percy Moore, director of OEDCI (Oakland)
Al Moreland, Gospel music director, KDIA (Oakland)
Ernest N. Morial, State Representative, Louisiana (interviewed in New Orleans)
Johnny Morris, announcer, KDIA (Oakland)
Ed Muniz, general manager, WBOK (New Orleans)
Kenneth Myers, part owner, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Bonne Nesbitt, news reporter, *Chicago Daily Defender*
Eddie O'Jay, announcer, WLIB (New York City)
Raymond O. Oladipupo, Ogilvy and Mather Inc., author: *How Distinct is the Negro-Market?* (New York City)
Mark Olds, vice-president and general manager, WWRL (New York City)
Dr. Claude H. Organ, M.D., part owner KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Robert Osborn, director of programs and operations, KMOX (St. Louis)
Lu Palmer, news columnist, *Chicago Daily News*; news analyst for all four Chicago area black-oriented stations in five minute mini-program, "Lu's Notebook"
John Parks, news department, WYLD (New Orleans)
Arnold Pinkney, assistant to the Mayor of the City of Cleveland
Norma Pinnella, director of music, WWRL (New York City)
Ada Pitts, director of public service KDIA (Oakland)
Ed Renno, director of marketing department, Vince Cullers Advertising, Inc. (Chicago)
John J. Revisore, vice-president, WYLD (New Orleans)
Ray Rogers, news director, WBOK (New Orleans)
John Rolih, chief engineer, KDIA (Oakland)
Tom V. Roper, sales department, KWK (St. Louis)
Edward Rose, accountant, WJMO (Cleveland)
Joshua Rose, city councilman, Oakland
Richard Roslow, vice-president of The Pulse Inc. (New York City)
Don St. John, announcer, KWK (St. Louis)
Al Sanders, program director, KWK (St. Louis)
Alan Schultz, general manager, KSOL (San Francisco)
Marlon Scott, announcer, KDIA (Oakland)
Marvin Seller, director of sales department, WWRL (New York City)
Curtis Shaw, program director, WABQ (Cleveland)
William Sherard, program director, WIXY (Cleveland)
Jim Simon, news director, KCBS (San Francisco)
Bert Sloan, sales department, WVON (Chicago)
Howard Smith, Eastern advertising manager, *Ebony* (New York City)
Dr. Norvel Smith, president of Merritt College, director of Black Caucus (Oakland)
Peter Starr, president, part owner, Starr Broadcasting Inc. (New Orleans)
Michael Starr, vice-president, part owner, Starr Broadcasting, Inc.
James Stevens, announcer, WABQ (Cleveland)
Percy Sutton, Manhattan Borough President (New York City)
Michael Swane, announcer, KOZN/KOWH-FM (Omaha)
Donald Tawzer, vice-president and general manager, KOIL (Omaha)
Ed Teamer, director of news and public affairs, WYLD (New Orleans)
James Treat, general manager, KOOO (Omaha)
Joseph Vatterott, part owner, KWK (St. Louis)
Jack Walker, vice-president in charge of operations, WLIB (New York City)
William O. Walker, editor, *Cleveland Call and Post*
Al Waples, announcer, KWK (St. Louis)
U. S. Warren, engineer, WVON (Chicago)
Bernadine Washington, vice-president, WVON (Chicago)
Rodney Wead, president of Reconciliation Inc.; part owner KOZN/KOWH-FM; director of United Methodist Community Centers (Omaha)
Lawton Wilkerson, program director, WBEE (Chicago)
William Wilkerson, news department, KMOX (St. Louis)

Jane Williams, news editor, *Cleveland Call and Post*
John Williams, field representative, Bernard Howard, Inc. (New York City)
Shirley Wilson, editor, KDIA (Oakland)
Vernon Winslow (Dr. Daddy-O), Gospel music director, WYLD (New Orleans)
Roy Wood, news director, WVON (Chicago)

Appendix Two: NOTES

[1]*How Soulful is Soul Radio,* Bernard E. Garnett: a special report of the Race Relations Information Center (Nashville, 1970), p. 6. Garnett obtained these figures from *Broadcasting Yearbook,* 1969.

[2]"The Facts About the Top 50 Markets," a report from Bernard Howard & Co., Inc. (New York). Bernard Howard represents 34 black-oriented radio stations in the top 50 metropolitan areas to national advertisers, and regularly releases market studies based on statistics compiled by *Standard Rate and Data* and the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc.

[3]*How Distinct is the Negro Market,* Raymond O. Oladipupo (Ogilvy and Mather, Inc.: New York, 1970), p. 49. Oladipupo bases his own discussion on data from Bernard Howard and The Center for Research in Marketing, Inc.

[4]Sources:

a) 1970 Pulse reports indicate a tremendous audience, presumably primarily black, for black-oriented radio. According to these reports and interviews with station management, black-oriented radio in New York, New Orleans, San Francisco-Oakland and Chicago remain easily among the top four radio stations in their market areas, at times achieving first and second place status.

b) In interviews conducted for this report, Raymond O. Oladipupo of Ogilvy and Mather (see above) claimed that the power of black-oriented radio grows increasingly stronger due to the growth and concentration of the black urban population; Richard Roslow, vice-president of The Pulse, Inc. (New York), and D. Parke Gibson, author of *The $30 Billion Negro* (Macmillan: Toronto, 1969) and president of D. Parke Gibson Associates, Inc. (New York) similarly affirmed the present power of black-oriented radio due to population concentration and intensified black cultural awareness.

[5]*Broadcasting,* March 17, 1969, p. 34. Hooper conducted the study in 44 major markets across the U.S. The recall score is the percentage of listeners able to answer the question: "What brand was advertised in the last commercial you heard?"

[6]*Broadcasting,* November 7, 1966, p. 90.

[7]See "Introduction." A complete list of those interviewed for this report is available in Appendix I.

[8]Arnold Pinkney, assistant to Mayor Carl Stokes, and William Hickey and Raymond Hart, radio-television columnists for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* were among those to attest to the helpfulness of WABQ and WJMO in this matter.

[9]Broadcasters are granted a license to use the airwaves, public property, upon their pledge to the Federal Communication Commission (FCC), who represents the people in this matter, that they will serve the public interest, convenience and necessity. The mechanics of the FCC-broadcaster relationship are presented in more detail in other sections of this report.

[10]These "chains" consist of three or more stations. The chain membership listed below is based on the research done by Bernard E. Garnett in the appendix to *How Soulful is Soul Radio,* with a few corrections due to recent changes in membership:

James Brown Broadcasting, Ltd.: WEBB (Baltimore), WJBE (Knoxville), WRDW (Augusta).

Rollins, Inc., Broadcasting Division: WBEE (Chicago), WGEE (Indianapolis), WRAP (Norfolk).

Rounsaville Radio Stations: WCIN (Cincinnati), WLOU (Louisville), WVOL (Barry Hill-Nashville), WYLD (New Orleans).

Sonderling Broadcasting Corp.: KDIA (Oakland-San Francisco), WDIA (Memphis), WOL (Washington, D.C.), WWRL (New York City).

Speidel Broadcasters, Inc.: WHIH (Portsmouth-Norfolk), WOIC (Columbia), WPAL (Charleston), WSOK (Savannah), WTMP (Tampa), WYNN (Florence, S.C.)

Starr Broadcasting Group, Inc.: WBOK (New Orleans), KYOK (Houston), WLOK (Memphis).

United Broadcasting Co.: WJMO (Cleveland), WOOK (Washington, D.C.), WSID (Baltimore).

[11]The exceptions are usually considered to be the less profitable of two or more stations in a broadcast area. Two examples of exceptions: WLIB (New York City) offers a highly varied program schedule; WBEE (Chicago) emphasizes jazz.

[12]Questions 3-A and 17 in Section IV-A of the FCC license renewal application form.

[13]There are a few exceptions to the exclusively rhythm and blues type of hit list. WLIB (New York City) for example, while having a "top 40" section on its weekly publication of hits, also has a section for Gospel and jazz records.

[14]As part of every license renewal application, the FCC selects 7 days, a "composite week," from the previous licensing period and requests the applicant broadcaster to submit a copy of his station log for that composite week as evidence of his station's programming service.

[15]A challenger to a license holder's continued use of an air frequency must show cause why the challenged holder has seriously failed in his obligation to serve the public interest.

[16]In one such department, the news assistant (a full-time college student, although he was listed as a full-time newsman at the station) claimed that he was unable to discuss black community problems because he didn't know the community.

[17]News and director plus three full-time newsmen; two mobile units; AP and Chicago wire service.

[18]See "The Commercials" in Section II of this report for a sample from the WVON log. WVON pledged 7.38% of news programming for the subsequent three years.

[19]Bonne Nesbitt had radio experience previous to her reporting position at the *Defender* and is presently employed by WIND (Chicago). At the time of publication of this report, she has re-affirmed her willingness to further explain anything stated in her interview.

[20]Section IV-A, page i of the license renewal form.

[21]"Composite week": see above note 14 for definition.

[22]The number of PSAs pledged is always stated conservatively so that the station does not overcommit itself.

[23]These song titles are taken from the Gospel listing compiled by Joe Bostic for the WLIB (New York City) hit list for the week ending April 24, 1970.

[24]Dr. Daddy-O's real name is Vernon Winslow. He is a professor at Dillard University and can remember years back writing for the Poppa-Stoppa Show, teaching a white man to speak like a Negro. He had an easier job, I suppose, than forcing a black man into a white format. Management fired him when he insisted on being the announcer himself.

[25]For those who wish to contact the FCC, write to Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, author of "Soul Music Is Not Enough" (available from him) and *How To Talk Back To*

Your Television Set (Bantam: New York, 1970) and co-author of several crucial dissenting statements in the FCC proceedings. He has a reputation for outstanding public service. The FCC address: 1919 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

[26]Contact Dr. Ralph Jennings, Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ, 287-289 Park Avenue South, New York City, New York.

[27]Some classic cases of license renewal challenges have been organized with the help of the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ. The proceedings of their successful WLBT-TV (Jackson) challenge contain a wealth of information about challenging procedures. These are available for reading or reproduction at the FCC in Washington and at the New York headquarters of the United Church of Christ.

POSTSCRIPT

In the first version of this report, published in February 1971, an appendix included major sections of the Federal Communication Commission form "Application for Renewal of Broadcast Station License." This renewal form is helpful not only as background for a report such as the present one but for any thinking about broadcasting and its relation to community service. Reproduction difficulties made it impossible to include the renewal form in the present edition. Copies of it, however, may be obtained free of charge from the Federal Communication Commission, 1919 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554.

For reasons of economy, the sets of questions used in the interviews for this report have been omitted.

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